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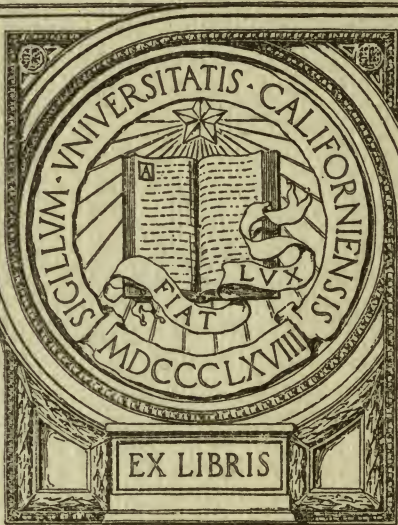
TACITUS

ANNALS

BOOKS I-III

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J. H. WATSON

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GERMANICUS

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II

COMPRISING THE CAREER
OF GERMANICUS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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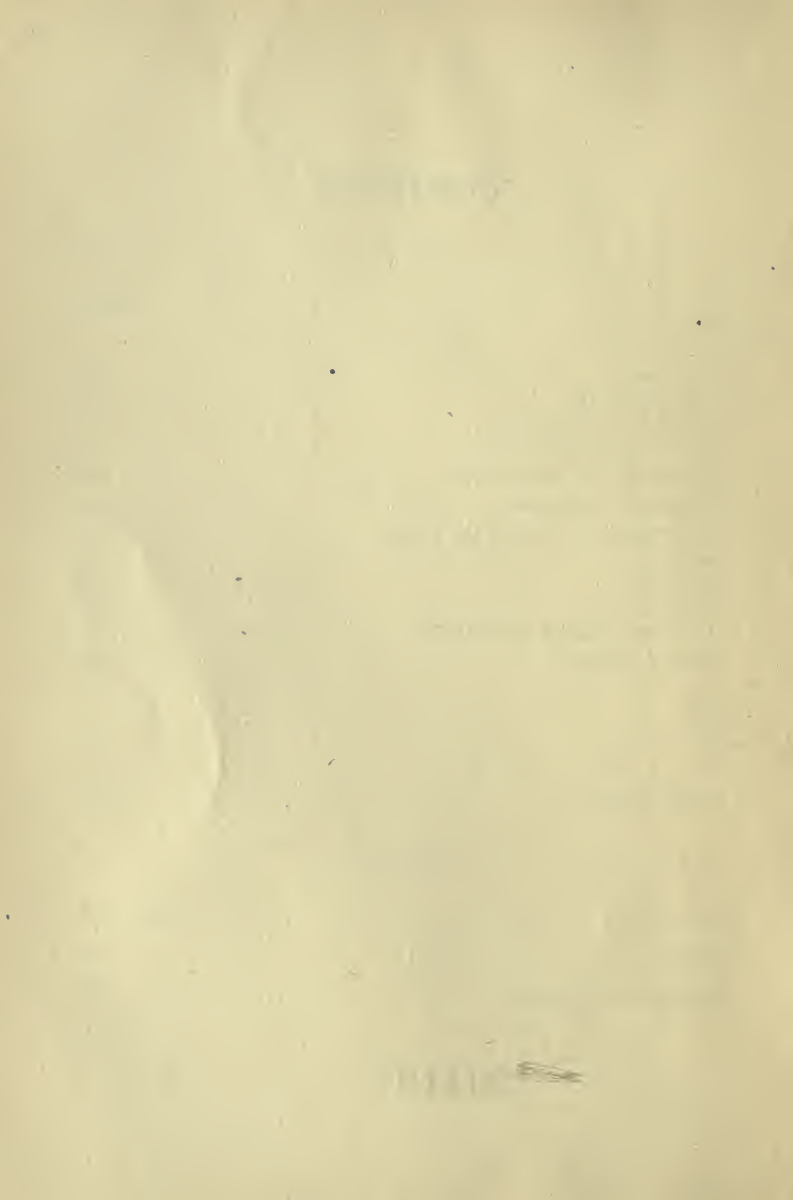
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AMERICAN

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PREFACE.

It is hoped that the present edition of Tacitus's *Annals* may serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, my aim has been not simply to introduce the student to the *Annals*, but to furnish him with a handy edition which contains all that is necessary to enable him to understand the text. In the second place, my endeavor has been to offer the teacher a suggestive edition which may guide him to a more detailed study and interpretation of Tacitus's most important work. The first two books have been selected for annotation because, comprising as they do the career of Germanicus, they form as it were a unit and are of a convenient length to be read during a term of the college session.

The text is based on Halm's fourth edition, but contains some slight variations from that standard both in manuscript readings and in orthography. Where Halm follows too closely the Medicean manuscript, I have ventured to depart from his orthography so as to bring my spelling more into conformity to the generally accepted norm. I fear, however, that I have not attained perfect consistency in this matter. The textual discussions have been relegated to the Critical Appendix at the end of the volume. The Introduction contains a concise discussion of all essential matters, such as the author's life, his aim and method in writing history, his style and language, and the sources of his *Annals*, together with a brief sketch of Tiberius and Germanicus. The Notes are designed to be sufficient to explain all the difficult points in the text, and the desired information is presented in succinct form. Where translation was deemed advisable, it is given, and the syntactical explanations follow as an aid to the understanding of the difficulties involved. While it is not expected that the young student bent chiefly on

turning the Latin into English will pay much attention to the explanations, citations, and references, it is hoped that these aids, together with the cross references, will be of special service to the teacher.

In addition to the several German annotated editions to which the present work is indebted, I have found the editions of Allen and Furneaux particularly helpful. I beg to acknowledge, also, my obligation to Dräger's *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, of which I have included a summary in my Introduction for convenience of reference.

Above all, my hearty thanks are due Professor H. R. Fairclough, of Stanford University, the editor-in-chief of this series, for his valuable criticism and many helpful suggestions, as well as for his painstaking labor in reading the entire proof. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my sincere appreciation of his generous assistance.

EDWIN W. BOWEN.

RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE,
March, 1913.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

LIFE OF TACITUS.

The facts concerning the life of Publius Cornelius Tacitus are very meager. He appears to have been sprung from a good equestrian family, but the place and date of his birth cannot be definitely determined. Indeed, there is doubt about his name. Sidonius Apollinaris, a Christian writer of the fifteenth century, speaks of him as Gaius, and the evidence of some of the inferior manuscripts tends to confirm this as his praenomen. But the best manuscripts of his works (the two Medicean) and a recently discovered inscription contain the name Cornelius which scholars now generally accept as Tacitus's real praenomen. Tradition assigns Interamna,¹ a town of northern Italy, as the place of his birth, but probably for no other reason than the fact that the Emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275-6) who claimed kinship to the historian was born in that town and had ten copies of his works made each year and distributed among all the public libraries.²

The date of Tacitus's birth can be determined only approximately. Pliny the Younger, a life-long friend of the historian, says in one of

¹ Some writers, on the strength of a slighting reference Tacitus makes to *municipia* (see *Annals* 4. 3), advance the theory that he could not have been born in any town in northern Italy, and, therefore, infer that he was born in Rome. To bolster up their feeble argument, they cite the contemptuous allusion to *genus oppidanum* (*Annals* 6. 15). Of course, this is simply an unwarranted inference.

² Cf. Flavius Vopiscus, Tac. 10, *Cornelium Tacitum scriptorem historiae Augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret in omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit.*

his letters¹ that he and Tacitus were almost of the same age (*propemodum aequales*) and continues: "In my early manhood, when you were already in the enjoyment of your career of honor and distinction, I desired above all things to follow in your footsteps and both in fact and in public estimation to rank next to you, though separated from you by a long interval." Now the date of Pliny's birth is known to have been A.D. 62. It follows, therefore, that Tacitus, being several years older, must have been born about A.D. 54 or 55. Moreover, this date harmonizes with the few known facts of the historian's life.

As to Tacitus's early training and education we know comparatively little. He seems to have taken a keen interest in public speaking, for in the first part of his *Dialogus* he speaks of having heard in his youth the discussions of those trained in the art of public speaking, and in the second part of that work he informs us that he frequently listened to the foremost lawyers of his time, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, pleading in the courts, and himself cheerfully followed their instructions. It is quite probable that Tacitus, like his friend Pliny, received his education at Rome and was a pupil of the celebrated rhetorician Quintilian. Certainly the *Dialogus* which was published about A.D. 79-81 shows abundant evidence of the influence of that eminent teacher.²

Tacitus chose the law as his profession and, no doubt, his ambition stimulated him to diligent application in this field, so inviting to most Roman youths of promise. Fortune marked him as a coming young man. When only twenty years old, as he represents himself in the *Dialogus*, he was on friendly terms with the leading members of the Roman bar. By assured promise, if not by achievement, he had very early attracted the attention of Cn. Julius Agricola, a man of the foremost rank in the state, for in the year of his consulship (A.D. 77) Agricola selected Tacitus, the young lawyer of twenty-three, as his son-in-law. If we may judge by the comments on the happy marriage of Agricola, whose biography the son-in-law wrote, Tacitus's own married life was probably altogether free from the conjugal infelicity so common in Roman society in those days, and

¹ See Pliny, *Epistulae* 7. 20.

² See Gudeman, *Dialogus*, *Introd.*, p. lxii *seq.*

the union must have proved to him an honor and a lever to raise himself to greater distinction in the state, — a circumstance which he says was true of his father-in-law's marriage.¹

About the year 80 Tacitus entered upon his political career as quaestor, under Vespasian.² Tacitus must then have been at least twenty-five, since this was the minimum constitutional age for the office. Within a few years thereafter he attained to the distinction of membership in the priestly college of *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*.³ In the year 88 he served as praetor, which implied that he had already been tribune or aedile, but the date of his tenure of this office is unknown.

The year following his praetorship Tacitus appears to have been absent from Rome. Some critics have maintained, on the authority of a reference by Pliny,⁴ that during this year Tacitus was propraetor in Belgic Gaul. This view commends itself as probable, but is impossible of proof. If the supposition is true, the historian presumably took advantage of his sojourn in that country to gain that personal knowledge of the Germanic tribes of which his treatise on Germany furnishes such striking evidence. Kritz holds the opinion that Tacitus served really as propraetor in Germany, but this view has not found acceptance with scholars.

After his propraetorship, wherever it may have been, Tacitus seems not to have returned to Rome till after the death of Agricola, in the year A.D. 93.⁵ However, Tacitus must have been in the imperial city during the years 94–96, for he describes⁶ the horrible scenes of the closing years of Domitian's reign of terror as an eyewitness, as scholars have observed. Because of the strained relations between Agricola and Domitian, Tacitus could expect no political advancement in the reign of that tyrant. Indeed, he was fortunate to escape a violent death, — a fate reserved for scores and

¹ Cf. *Agricola* 6. 1, *decus atque robur sibi ad maiora nitendi*.

² Cf. *Historiae* 1. 1, *Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim*, etc.

³ See *Annals* 11. 11. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Nat. Hist.* vii, 16. 17. 76, *Corneli Taciti equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis*.

⁵ Cf. *Agricola* 45. 4.

⁶ See *Agricola* 45.

scores of the nobility in those perilous times in Rome. But Domitian was himself destined to pay the penalty of his cruel tyranny, and was assassinated 18 September, A.D. 96. Then it was that Rome was permitted to enjoy a respite from the revolting deeds of blood and carnage which had disgraced her history during the Flavian dynasty.

In the piping times of peace which followed the horrors of Domitian's reign Tacitus was advanced, under Nerva, to the consulship (*consul suffectus*) in the year 97, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Verginius Rufus, the famous warrior, over whom he delivered the funeral eulogy.¹ In the year 100 Tacitus was retained with his friend Pliny as counsel by the province of Africa to prosecute the notorious Marius Priscus, who during his proconsulship had harassed the country and committed heinous crimes against the unfortunate provincials.² The prosecution was successful in securing a verdict of impeachment, but the defendant anticipated the sentence of banishment by going into voluntary exile, the provincials being left without recourse to recover their loss. After this event history is wellnigh mute about Tacitus's life. A recently discovered inscription informs us that he was proconsul of Asia, but the date is not given, being presumably about 110 to 114. This office afforded him opportunity to gather information about affairs in the East, which he, no doubt, turned to good account later in writing his *Annals*.

The rest of Tacitus's life is mere conjecture, no further facts being known. However, after his retirement from public affairs he must have mapped out for himself an ambitious task as a writer, to which he devoted his energies in peace and quiet for the remainder of his days. A kind fate spared his life till A.D. 116, at least, for his *Annals*³ contain an allusion to the conquests of Trajan in the East, which occurred in that year. These conquests embraced territory which Hadrian surrendered almost immediately upon his accession in 117. It follows, therefore, that Tacitus lived till about the end

¹ Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* 2. 1.

² Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* 2. 11; also Juvenal, 1. 49.

³ See *Annals* 2. 61. 2, *Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.* Also *ib.* 4. 4. 6.

of Trajan's reign (A.D. 117). It is quite possible that he may have lived into the reign of Hadrian, but of this there is no evidence.

II.

WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

The writings of Tacitus include the following extant works:

1. *Dialogus de oratoribus*. The consensus of opinion is now in favor of ascribing this brilliant treatise to Tacitus, but it has been variously ascribed to Suetonius, Pliny the Younger, and Quintilian. It shows earmarks of Cicero's influence and purports to be a discussion of the reasons for the decline of oratory under the empire. The time of the dialogue is about A.D. 75, but it was not published until the reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81).¹

2. *Agricola*, or *de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*. This is a biography of Cn. Julius Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus. It contains an allusion to Trajan as *princeps*, and therefore could not have been published till 97 or 98.

3. *Germania*, or *de origine et situ Germanorum liber*. This is a brief monograph setting forth the manners and customs and relative locations of the numerous ancient Germanic tribes. From internal evidence we infer that it was published about 98, the year of Trajan's second consulship.²

4. *Historiae*. This is a record in the annalistic order of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, embracing the author's own times from 69 to 96. The work was begun in the year A.D. 98,³ but the date of publication is unknown. Of the fourteen books which the work originally comprised, only the first four and a part of the fifth are now preserved, embracing the history of the years A.D. 69-70.

¹ For a full discussion of this question see Gudeman, *Dialogus*, Introd. xxvi seq.

² See *Germ.* 37. 2, *Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus*, etc.

³ See *Agric.* 3. 4, *Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse*. Cf. *Hist.* 1. 1. 5.

5. *Annales*, or *ab excessu divi Augusti*. This is a history, in strictly chronological order, of the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, extending from the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, to the year 68. Of the sixteen books which it comprised there are preserved books I-IV and parts of books V and VI, and books XI-XVI. The middle part of the work amounting to a third is lost. The history of Caligula's reign is entirely missing; and of Claudius's reign the first six years and of Nero's the last two years, respectively, are wanting. This work is regarded the best of the author's productions. The *Annals* represented the last product of Tacitus's creative genius and must have been published about A.D. 116 or 117.¹

Tacitus had intended to write the history of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan and also of Augustus,² but this project was frustrated by his death. Had he lived to carry out his purpose, he would have written a complete history of the first century of the Roman empire from its establishment to the year 117. But this was not to be. As to the title of his last work Tacitus himself appears to have called it simply "*Ab excessu divi Augusti*." In one passage³ he refers to his work as "*Annales nostri*," but by this scholars think he intended to signify his historical works in general and not the *Annals* specifically. The earliest authority for the title "*Annales*" is Rhenanus, a sixteenth century writer who, as Furneaux suggests, thought that he found it in the text. In the best manuscripts the work is entitled simply "*Ab excessu Augusti*," perhaps after the analogy of Livy's history which he called "*Ab urbe condita*."

III.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Annals*.

There are extant two manuscripts of the *Annals*. Of these one is called the first Medicean (*Laur.* 68. 1), now preserved in the Medicean Library in Florence. This manuscript contains the first sec-

¹ See the allusions in Book II, chapter 61. 2; also Book IV, chapter 4. 6.

² See *Hist.* 1. 1. 5 and *Annal.* 3. 24. 4, *Sed aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si . . . vitam produxero.*

³ See *Annal.* 4. 32. 1, *Sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres populi Romani res composuere.*

tion of the *Annals*, i.e., books I–VI as far as preserved, and is recognized as the sole authority for this section. The second section, which contains only the latter part of the *Annals*, i.e., books XI–XVI, together with the first five books of the *Histories*, is called the second Medicean (*Laur.* 68. 2) and, like the Mediceus I, is now preserved in the Medicean Library in Florence. The date of the first Medicean is supposed to be the second half of the ninth, or the early tenth century; that of the second Medicean is supposed to be the second half of the eleventh century.

These two manuscripts are believed to have been among the numerous copies of works of ancient writers made during those centuries in the great monastery of Monte Cassino, Italy. The earliest information we have of the existence of Mediceus I is that Ruodolphus, a learned monk of Fulda in Hesse Cassel, writing in the ninth century, mentions Tacitus as speaking of the *Visurgis* (the river Weser), and from this we naturally infer that he probably was acquainted with a manuscript of the *Annals*. Our next source of information is the famous collector of manuscripts, Poggio Bracciolini, who writes in 1425 of a letter he received from Germany concerning some unknown works of Tacitus, reputed to be preserved at Hersfeld near Fulda. About 1508 the manuscript was brought to Rome and in 1515, by the order of Leo X, it was published there by Beoraldus. But according to another report, the manuscript was brought to Rome from Corvey in Westphalia. Several special articles¹ have been published describing the condition of the manuscript, its marginal corrections and other peculiarities.

The second Medicean manuscript is first mentioned by Poggio Bracciolini, who received it in Rome through his agent Nicola Nicoli, of Florence, in 1427. Poggio returned the document to Nicoli who bequeathed it to the convent of St. Mark. Later the manuscript found its way to the Laurentian Library in Florence, where it is still preserved. Besides the Mediceus II, there are numerous other manuscripts of the latter part of the *Annals*, but these are all inferior and of later date, none being earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. Of these Walther and Ruperti

¹ See *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. XVI, 454–469; Vol. XVII, 99–137; *Philologus*, Vol. XXVI, 96, etc.

make two main groups. The first group, consisting of five manuscripts, is reputed to be a transcription from a lost *codex Genuensis*, and of these manuscripts two are in Rome (in the Vatican Library) and three in England (one in the Bodleian, one in the Jesus College Library and one in the British Museum). The second group, designated by Walther the Roman group, is closely related, being apparently from a common source quite distinct from the *codex Genuensis*. In addition to these two groups, there is even a third group which seems to approach in origin the Medicean text.

IV.

SOURCES OF THE *Annals*.

In only two passages¹ in the first six books of the *Annals* has Tacitus taken the pains to cite his authorities. These are the history of the German wars by the elder Pliny and the memoirs of the younger Agrippina, in each instance in reference to the elder Agrippina. In the latter part of the *Annals* (XI-XVI) Tacitus gives some references to the general history of Pliny as well as to Cluvius Rufus,² Fabius Rusticus and Domitius Corbulo. In the first six books Tacitus frequently makes some indefinite reference, employing such terms as "*auctores*," "*scriptores*," "*scriptores annalium*," "*quidam tradidere*," "*ferunt*," "*tradunt plerique*," "*plurimos auctorum*," etc. It is evident then that there were many general authorities that Tacitus drew upon for information in the composition of his *Annals*.³ Among his Roman contemporaries dealing with the period of the *Annals* may be mentioned Valerius Maximus and G. Velleius Paterculus, the latter of whom gives in his history a sketch of the first sixteen years of Tiberius's principate.

In addition to these, there were probably extant in Tacitus's time a summary of Tiberius's reign, of his own composition, perhaps somewhat after the manner of Augustus's famous *Monumentum*

¹ See Book I, 69. 3, and Book IV, 53. 3. But he cites such documents as the *acta diurna* (3. 3), the speeches of Tiberius (1. 81; 2. 63), etc.

² See Mommsen, *Tacitus und Cluvius*, *Hermes*, Vol. IV, 295-325.

³ For a full discussion of the sources of Tacitus's *Annals* see P. Fabia, *Les Sources de Tacite*, Paris, 1893.

Ancyranum and the autobiography of Claudius, in eight books, and his general history from the close of the civil wars, in forty-three books. The rhetorician M. Seneca wrote a history beginning with the civil wars and closing with the latter days of his own life, which work we may safely presume was known to Tacitus. After these may be mentioned the historical writings of M. Servilius Nonianus, consul A.D. 35, and those of Aufidius Bassus (died A.D. 58), including his general history and his special work on the German wars. The elder Pliny wrote a continuation of this general history in thirty-one books to supplement Bassus's and also a separate work in twenty books on all the Roman wars in Germany. The combined works of Bassus and Pliny covered a period of history greater than that embraced in the *Annals*. No doubt, Tacitus also drew upon Pliny's *Natural History* for information, though it would be difficult to cite evidence of actual borrowing. Other documents which Tacitus possibly used in writing his *Annals* were the biographies of Thrasea and Helvidius by Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio and funeral orations of distinguished Romans. But since both a large part of the *Annals* and many of the alleged sources have alike perished, no positive proof of Tacitus's indebtedness to such sources can be adduced.

Among the documents to which Tacitus would naturally refer in writing his *Annals* were: (a) the acta senatus, sometimes called commentarii senatus, or acta patrum, a record of the proceedings of the senate; (b) the acta diurna urbis, a kind of gazette dating from the first consulship of Julius Caesar; (c) the commentarii principum, the private journal of the emperors; (d) the public inscriptions and pamphlet literature. Such, no doubt, were among the chief historical sources our author drew upon for his *Annals*. Of course Tacitus must have been indebted, too, to his contemporaries, some of whom were eye-witnesses of many of the events recorded in the *Annals*, and of whose personal knowledge he must gladly have availed himself. Furthermore, the period described in the *Annals* was not so far removed from the author's own day as to preclude familiarity on his part with many traditional anecdotes still current.¹

¹ To cite a specific instance or two, Tacitus mentions in his account of the trial of Cn. Piso a current report (cf. *Annals* 3. 16. 1) and another in his account of Piso's conspiracy in Nero's reign (cf. *Annals* 15. 73. 3).

V.

TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE *Annals*.

The trustworthiness of the *Annals* depends no less upon Tacitus's diligence and care in consulting his authorities than upon the credibility of those authorities. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary we are compelled by a sheer sense of justice and fairness to assume that Tacitus was at no small pains to select authentic sources of information for the *Annals*. Moreover, we must assume, in view of the universal opinion as to Tacitus's credibility as a historian, that he used good judgment and discrimination in his endeavor to ascertain the truth. It is true, however, that some modern investigators including Ferrero have maintained that Tacitus's strong prejudice against Tiberius, Sejanus and Domitian led him to distort facts in order to represent these characters in the worst light. This perhaps has tended to discredit Tacitus and to raise a question as to his veracity.

What was Tacitus's conception of history? In answering this question, as Boissier¹ suggests, we should try to learn what conception the Romans had of history before Tacitus's time. According to Cicero's view, the first essential for the historian is to be truthful (*ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat*).² Cicero maintained further that the truth must be presented in an attractive form and he criticised the republican historians because they failed to do this, holding that they were *narratores rerum, non oratores*. "History," said he, "is above all things the work of orators (*opus oratorium maxime*)."³ By this the prince of Roman orators must have meant to signify rhetorical embellishment, literary excellence and art, and not impassioned eloquence, which is universally recognized as an essential trait of an orator. But the Ciceronian conception of history subjected the historian to the temptation to resort to tricks of rhetoric which militated against the prime essential of history, viz., to tell the truth and the whole

¹ See his *Tacitus and Other Roman Studies*, translated by W. G. Hutchison, p. 43 fol.

² Cf. Cicero, *De Orat.* 2. 15.

³ Cf. Cicero, *De Leg.* 1. 2.

truth. Of Cicero's conception of history Livy was the most striking exemplar; for he allowed his desire for rhetorical adornment to distort the truth and to lead him into the error of subordinating truth to rhetoric.

Now, Tacitus nowhere informs us in detail how he conceived of history. Yet by his expressed criticism of his predecessors contained in the prologues to his *Histories* and *Annals* he implies that they failed to keep before them always a due and proper regard for the truth. He reproaches the historians of the Caesars specifically with the gravest of all offenses, falsification, dividing them into two classes, the one class of those who flattered the princes while they reigned, and the other of those who wilfully maligned the princes after death.¹ He thereupon avows it to be his purpose to recount the reign of Tiberius and the rest, unbiased by resentment on the one hand or by partiality on the other. Furthermore, he affirms, "I regard it the chief purpose of history to rescue virtue from oblivion and to inculcate a due fear of posthumous infamy for base words and deeds."² It is clear from this that Tacitus was actuated by a decidedly moral purpose in writing history, such as was professed by no other Roman historian.

Such being Tacitus's professed purpose, it is pertinent to inquire how far he carried out this aim and what was his achievement. It may be remarked in the first place that Tacitus did not escape the defects of his age, despite his earnest endeavor to be just and impartial. [Despising the extravagance and crime of the times and hating tyranny with all the intensity of his nature, an ardent lover of liberty, he saw in the horror and bloodshed of Domitian's rule through which he lived only the logical outcome of Tiberius's reign of terror.] Even the good features of Tiberius's policy he damned with faint praise, and by his sinister innuendoes he put an ugly construction upon that monarch's conduct in some instances when there was perhaps no ground for reproach. For this reason Merivale and some other modern historians have been disposed to consider all of Tacitus's writings in the nature of indictments against his own age and to regard them as satire, and that, too, of the gloomy and

¹ See *Annals* 1. 1. 5.

² See *Annals* 3. 65. 1.

drastic type like Juvenal's. His biting satire and melancholy pessimism, to use a French expression, are but defects of his qualities, which were a passionate love of liberty, morality and republican institutions. It was probably this passionate love of liberty, morality and republican institutions which led him into the involuntary error of prejudice and exaggeration. It was this same feeling that heightened his dramatic power and made of him at times as great a dramatist as historian. Witness here such highly dramatic passages as his description of the quelling of the sedition of the German legions by Germanicus¹ and his account of the return of Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus.²

Tacitus has been taxed with being a fatalist and the charge is not altogether unfounded. The iniquities of his age seemed to make him oblivious at times of the fact of the divine control of affairs. As Merivale remarks,³ in his earlier writings Tacitus sees the evil of the times and rebukes it with gentleness; but in his *Histories* and *Annals* he grows more cynical and bitter and his hatred of sin is concentrated in his hatred of the sinner. Still a strong moral sense, if not indeed a religious sense, pervades all his writings and he makes us feel as if his purpose in writing history was to inculcate an abiding love of virtue and hatred of vice.

Critics⁴ have called attention to two points in which Tacitus's "obligation to veracity seemed consciously relaxed." The first is his apparent intention to conceal the number of the Roman slain, especially in his account of the campaigns of Germanicus. The second is his conformity to the practice of the early Roman historians of composing imaginary speeches purporting to be historical. The first of these charges may be explained (though not justified) on the score of the author's ardent patriotism. For his reticence in this matter he could cite ample precedent. But it should be said to his credit that sometimes, if rarely, he makes a departure from his usual method and gives the number of the slain. In regard to the second charge it must be admitted that he failed to show sufficient

¹ See *Annals* 1. 31.

² See *Annals* 3. 1.

³ See *History of Rome*, Vol. VII, 275.

⁴ See Boissier, *Tacitus and Other Roman Studies*, p. 71; Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, Vol. I, *Introd.* p. 31.

independence of the time-honored convention. Himself of an emotional temperament, he wrote for a people of a highly emotional nature who were accustomed to such demonstrations of emotion, even in public speaking, as seem to us moderns of a phlegmatic temperament entirely out of place. He therefore resorted to art and tricks of rhetoric to impart dramatic interest to his narrative by giving here and there what purported to be the original speeches of the characters he describes. However, Tacitus was by no means as great a sinner in this respect as Livy; for Tacitus does appear to feel himself under obligation to preserve the substance of the original speech, whereas Livy, in such cases, seems not to have entertained any such conscientious scruple and does not hesitate to change to suit his purpose and to substitute probability for truth.

Merivale,¹ voicing the general verdict of modern criticism, says that "the *Histories* are more to be relied on than the *Annals*," the latter being almost wholly satire. It may be said in reply that the reason the *Histories* are perhaps more reliable is probably because the author was more familiar with the period of the *Histories* as being nearer his own times than that of the *Annals*. In the *Annals* he did not have so many sources available, the period described being farther removed from his own day and generation.

After all, it may be truthfully said that Tacitus appears to have made an honest effort to consult the available sources for his *Annals* and to weigh the evidence with a judicial temper in order to arrive at a true verdict. Of course his methods of attaining this end, we may say without flattery, were crude and unscientific as compared with ours, and his conclusions, as a result, were not so accurate. Still he went much farther toward this goal than any of his predecessors and deserves credit for the high standard he set before himself. It is not to be expected that he should have reached our modern standards of historical investigation and accuracy. Yet he did his work in such a manner that his conclusions are, in the main, accurate and his veracity is beyond impeachment. We may say, therefore, in conclusion, that the *Annals* are in general trustworthy, though not absolutely free of errors,² and that the record is the most reliable of all the Roman historical writings.

¹ See History of Rome, Vol. VI, p. 372.

² For a catalogue of the errors see Boissier, cited above, p. 62, note.

VI.

TIBERIUS.

The character of Tiberius portrayed by Tacitus is that of a cruel, gloomy, dissolute and suspicious despot who in his latter days recoiled from no acts of villainy and depravity, however revolting or atrocious. This view is confirmed in many details by the records of Suetonius and Dio Cassius. Tradition, too, has handed down this representation of Tiberius and made it all but universally accepted. However, some recent historians have shown a disposition to reject this traditional view and to rehabilitate the maligned emperor by attempting to discredit the evidence of Tacitus and his contemporaries. Among those who have endeavored to bleach out the dark spots in Tiberius's character and to vindicate him to the world, after the lapse of so many centuries, are found both German and English scholars. Of these it may suffice to mention Adolph Stahr, L. Freytag and A. Spengel, in Germany, and E. S. Beesly, Baring-Gould and J. C. Tarver, in England.¹ Even Merivale and Mommsen seem disposed to break a lance in Tiberius's defense, intimating that he was not as black as he was painted and that he was more sinned against than sinning during the latter days of his unhappy life. Furneaux, too, in his edition of the *Annals*, is inclined to modify and revise the severe judgment of the ancient Roman historian as to Tiberius.

Tacitus was evidently not disposed to view any of Tiberius's questionable acts with excessive leniency. In the conflict between Tiberius and Germanicus Tacitus's sympathies were, no doubt, with Germanicus, and this is indicated in the *Annals*. Not that Tacitus

¹ See Adolph Stahr, *Tacitus' Geschichte der Regierung des Kaisers Tiberius, uebersetz und erklart*, Berlin, 1863. L. Freytag, *Tiberius und Tacitus*, Berlin, 1870. E. S. Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius*, London, 1878. Baring-Gould, *Tragedy of the Caesars*, London, 1892. J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant*, Westminster, 1902. A. Spengel, *Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Tiberius*, 1903. (Of Freytag's and Spengel's work I have had to content myself with such summaries as are contained in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* and elsewhere.) The most recent champion of Tiberius is T. S. Jerome (cf. art. *The Tacitean Tiberius*, in *Classical Philology*, VII, p. 265).

wilfully misrepresented the facts, or that he suppressed the evidence when it might be regarded as favorable to the emperor. Had he done so, he would have proved untrue to his office and unfaithful to his duty as a historian. He gives the facts fully and correctly. But unfortunately he misinterprets the facts and attributes to Tiberius sinister motives for his conduct again and again and by his unintentional bias he reads into his history an impression unwarranted by the facts. An instance in point is the death of Germanicus, due, as alleged, to poison administered by Piso. Tacitus marshals the evidence in the case accurately without suppression or distortion of any fact. Yet, somehow, he makes the unfavorable impression upon the reader that Piso committed the crime, — a conclusion not entirely warranted by the evidence.

Tiberius was born in the year B.C. 42, his parents being Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia Drusilla. His life was checkered, as Tacitus remarks,¹ by various vicissitudes and perils. On the death of his father in B.C. 33 he was committed, in his ninth year, to the care of his stepfather Octavius who two years later became the supreme ruler of the Roman world. Tiberius seemed then fortune's favorite and she showered her honors upon him with a lavish hand. By special privilege he was made quaestor in his nineteenth year (B.C. 23) and praetor in his twenty-fifth (B.C. 17) and consul in his twenty-ninth year (B.C. 13). In military affairs, too, his achievements were quite as remarkable as his civil honors; for he served with distinction in campaigns in the East and in Germany and his recovery, in the year B.C. 20, of the lost standards of Crassus, was not the least of his exploits as a young soldier of twenty-three.

The untimely death of the promising young Marcellus and Tiberius's marriage to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, combined to place Tiberius high in the line of succession to the throne of the Caesars. But in the year B.C. 12 Agrippa who, as son-in-law, ranked second only to the prince and shared the tribunician power with Augustus died very suddenly and left his two young sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, aged eight and five years, respectively, as heirs to the throne. This circumstance naturally raised the hopes of

¹ See *Annals* 6. 51. 2.

Tiberius and his enviable record as a soldier reinforced his claim to the succession, rendering him a formidable rival.

Just at this juncture in his career an untoward incident occurred which was destined to blast Tiberius's hopes for years, though not ultimately, and to embitter his domestic life. He was forced by Augustus, for political reasons, to divorce his beloved wife Vipsania, in order to marry the gay, beautiful and reckless Julia who, never entertaining any real affection for him, showed her supreme contempt for him by her subsequent life of open shame and infamy. Then followed his strange course of voluntary retirement to Rhodes, where he remained for seven long years (B.C. 2). The truth is, he was kept in disguised exile at Rhodes by political intrigue and was not permitted to return till four years after the banishment of the profligate Julia, B.C. 2.¹ At the earnest solicitation of the puritan party, reinforced by the untiring intercession of his mother Livia, Augustus, now in his old age, permitted Tiberius to return to Rome, and signalized the occasion by adopting him as heir to the throne, his rivals Lucius and Gaius Caesar both having died. But Augustus did not take this step till circumstances practically rendered it imperative. The affairs of state were in dire need of a capable soldier, such as Tiberius was conceded to be, to crush the power of the enemy on the northern frontier along the Rhine and the Danube, the aged emperor having demonstrated his utter inability to cope with the critical situation. Hardly had Tiberius been adopted into the imperial family when he set out for the Rhine and the Danube to deal with the revolts in those regions. The subjugation of the insurgent German tribes and the crushing of the rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia proved a great victory for Tiberius, especially at the time of such a grave crisis in the nation's history. For this brilliant achievement the senate voted him, in A.D. 12, a triumph and honored him further by the renewal of the tribunician power for life, at the same time conferring upon him a proconsular *imperium* which made him equal to the emperor in authority.

Tiberius now set out from Rome for Illyricum, whence he was summoned back suddenly by the illness of Augustus, which termi-

¹ For a detailed account of the conditions that prevailed in Rome at the time see Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. V, chapter xi.

nated in his death at Nola, A.D. 14. Tiberius then at the age of fifty-six found himself undisputed master of the Roman empire. Until he assumed the reins of government, Tiberius's conduct, according to Tacitus, had been exemplary and his reputation above reproach.¹ It may be stated furthermore that even during the early years of his government, according to the consensus of historians, his rule, for the most part, was characterized by justice and moderation. It is conceded that he constantly consulted the senate even on matters not strictly within the jurisdiction of that body, that he showed a due respect for the office of the magistrates of the republic, that he appointed worthy men, as a rule, to office and that he administered the laws justly except in the case of treason trials (*lèse-majesté*). This is the testimony of Tacitus himself as recorded in his famous summary of the reign of Tiberius down to the year A.D. 23,² when the policy of the government appeared to undergo a radical change. Even in the treason trials the injustice resulted more, really, from a constitutional defect in the Roman judicial system than from the emperor's personal disposition to foster the heinous practice of delations. For the Roman judicial system did not provide a public prosecutor like our commonwealth's attorney to prosecute offenders of the law, but relied upon individual initiative to bring such transgressors to justice. The abominable system of delations grew up, therefore, under the fostering form of the Roman law.

Tiberius's policy underwent a radical change for the worse in the year A.D. 23, under the baneful influence of the villainous and abandoned Sejanus. Tiberius himself, it appears, surrendered himself about this time to his evil genius, allowing it, after he had thrown off all check and restraint, to gain entire mastery over him and to make his rule from A.D. 23 to the end a veritable reign of terror. The rise of Sejanus spelled the downfall of Tiberius. Of an austere, gloomy and distrustful disposition, Tiberius, both before and after he assumed the royal purple, had been so circumstanced in his perilous career that these ugly traits of his character were more and

¹ See *Annals* 6. 51. 5, *Egregrium vita famaue quod privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit.*

² See *Annals* 4. 6.

more developed until, upon the overthrow of Sejanus, he became a rampant monster of cruelty. In A.D. 27 he retired to the island of *Capreae* (Capri), leaving his infamous favorite in control at Rome. In his insular retirement he indulged the cruel and beastly impulses of his nature, unrestrained and unamenable to any authority. He showed his intense hatred of the family of Germanicus by banishing Agrippina and two of her sons in A.D. 29, just as years before he had shown his envy and enmity to Germanicus by removing him from Germany to the far-off East. In this same eventful year 29 his mother Livia died and close upon her death came the shocking discovery of the disgrace and crime which the trusted Sejanus had brought upon the imperial family. After this scandalous affair was laid bare with its horror and murder, Tiberius's suspicious and depraved disposition is reputed to have led him to launch out upon a career of profligacy and cruelty perhaps unparalleled in the history of the Roman emperors. Meanwhile, he turned the government over to his second favorite, Macro. But the sands of life were running low for Tiberius, for he died in the year 37, at the advanced age of seventy-nine, and the world was relieved of a monster who had sat like a horrible incubus upon Rome for the past fourteen years. Yet how different this Tiberius who passed away at his villa at Misenum, unhonored and detested by the Roman world, from the Tiberius who had ascended the throne of the Caesars as the successor to Augustus twenty-three years before!

The nefarious system of delations which had been carried on in a mild manner during the early years of Tiberius's administration was fostered and fully developed after his permanent retirement to Capri, and was conspicuous among the many cruel and oppressive features of his later rule. Tacitus records a weary list of victims who were either condemned to death or anticipated that dire extremity by suicide. The practice of espionage brought forth an abundant harvest of informers who respected no man, whether patrician or plebian. The heaviest toll of carnage, however, was levied upon the nobility, and neither the senate nor the house of Germanicus escaped. Much innocent blood was of course shed, both with and without the sanction of law, and no man's life was regarded safe as long as the very walls appeared to have ears and the monster's thirst for blood remained unsatiated. The system of delations, of

its very nature, encouraged animosity and avarice in the growing number of informers who energetically plied their fiendish business without scruple of conscience and made it a regular profession.

Tacitus is of the opinion that Tiberius played the rôle of a hypocrite during his earlier career, disguising quite skillfully his envious and malicious character till his latter days, when he threw off the mask and appeared as the real tyrant that he was. This view seems altogether improbable. Tiberius's champions, on the contrary, maintain that his disposition did not really change during his latter years, but that the stories of his cruelty and tyranny recorded by the historians were either grossly exaggerated or impalpably false. In refutation of this it need hardly be remarked that the historical evidence is too convincing and conclusive against Tiberius for this theory of vindication to win acceptance. This would imply that the panegyric of Velleius, whose record, by the way, does not embrace the entire career of Tiberius, should be valued above the biographical sketch of Suetonius and the detailed authentic history by Dio Cassius and Tacitus. The true conception of Tiberius's character, it is reasonable to assume, must lie between these two extreme views. Perhaps then it would not be far from the truth to suppose that Tiberius's character was a curious compound of good and evil and that in his early career he repressed the evil of his nature in his earnest endeavor to make a good emperor, but that from the death of Drusus he gradually gave free rein to his evil impulses and, after the fall of Sejanus, became a cruel and suspicious despot in his sullen seclusion at Capri.

VII.

GERMANICUS.

Germanicus Caesar, the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony, was born 24 May, B.C. 15. His father was the first Roman general to penetrate the forests of Germany as far as the German Ocean, conquering many of the barbarian tribes as far as the Weser and erecting fortifications to hold the new conquests. Drusus also penetrated as far as the Elbe and as a monument of his bold achievement he built the canal (*fossa Drusi*) which

united the Rhine and the Yssel. In honor of his exploits in Germany the surname "Germanicus" was conferred upon him and his family after his death (which was due to a fall from his horse while retiring from the Elbe to the Rhine in the year B.C. 9).¹ Hence it is that his eldest son, the subject of this sketch, was entitled to bear the surname "Germanicus" before his own achievements in Germany or his adoption into the family of the Caesars, A.D. 4. Strangely enough, Germanicus is known only by his adoptive name "Germanicus Caesar," there being no record of his praenomen or of any original cognomen.

The story of Germanicus's adoption by his uncle Tiberius forms an interesting chapter in the life of Augustus and was of course an important event in his own career. When Tiberius was in retirement at Rhodes, many things occurred to annoy Augustus, not the least of which was the scandal in the imperial family, which resulted in the banishment of the fascinating but wayward Julia. Tiberius, never popular at any time even despite his marriage to Julia, by his recent course had incurred the special displeasure of the emperor, who practically kept him in his self-imposed exile. Moreover, it was only through the unremitting intercessions of Livia and a few other friends that Augustus was induced to allow Tiberius to return to Rome. Shortly after his return, in the year A.D. 3, a fortunate combination of circumstances tended to promote Tiberius's interests and to force him from private life into active service in public affairs. Tiberius was conceded to be an able general; and Augustus, now that a jealous fate had robbed him of Drusus, keenly felt the need of a competent and experienced warrior to deal with the difficult situation which confronted the government with respect to its foreign policy.

Augustus had been deprived, by a cruel fortune, of the hope of counsel and help from the two scions of his house, Lucius and Gaius Caesar, whom "his doting tenderness,"² in the language of Ferrero, "had regarded as the support, the guiding intelligence and the will of the empire." The affairs of the empire were in a critical

¹ See Livy, *Epitome* 142; *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, art. Drusus.

² Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. V, chapter 12.

condition. Germany was already in open revolt and the Roman people were disgusted with the aged emperor's feeble foreign policy and his apparent indifference to the grave dangers which threatened the state. If Germanicus had been an older man with more experience, there is little doubt, according to Ferrero, that Augustus would have selected him to cope with the perilous crisis confronting the empire and would gladly have adopted him as his son and successor. But Germanicus who was only nineteen was too inexperienced and too immature to render it advisable to exalt him to such a position of honor and responsibility, however much the emperor's personal feelings might dictate his appointment. Germanicus, being eliminated for the reason stated, Augustus almost in desperation then turned to Tiberius as the only alternative and adopted him, inducing the *comitia curiata* at the same time to confer the tribunician power upon him for ten years.¹

But Germanicus was not to be passed over entirely. Accordingly, Augustus required Tiberius to adopt Germanicus as his successor to the throne of the Caesars.² It is evident from this that Augustus earnestly desired to make Germanicus his successor and very reluctantly resolved to appoint Tiberius only when this duty was unavoidably forced upon him.³ This fact must be borne in mind, for it furnished the motive for Tiberius's subsequent envy and jealousy toward his nephew Germanicus. Another reason which must not be overlooked is to be found in the fact that Tiberius had rendered himself exceedingly unpopular at Rome, even before his adoption by Augustus, and later proved himself no less unpopular with the legions also, while Germanicus early endeared himself both to the citizens and the army and proved a popular favorite generally, till his premature death.

Tiberius was a more competent general than his unhappy disposition led the Roman people to believe. No sooner had he been appointed successor to the throne than he set out for Germany, resolved to restore the discipline among the legions which had greatly

¹ Cf. Dio Cassius, 55. 13.

² Cf. Dio Cassius, *loc. cit.*, and Suetonius, *Tiberius* 15, *coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare*.

³ See Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. V, p. 250.

deteriorated during Augustus's latter years and to re-establish the authority and power of the state which had declined to so marked a degree in that province since the untimely death of his brother Drusus. Germanicus accompanied Tiberius on this campaign as well as on the campaign against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. In these military expeditions Germanicus showed himself an alert, capable and resourceful soldier and acquired considerable experience of the methods of conducting war against the semi-barbarous tribes along the Rhine and the Danube. These expeditions, thanks to the superior generalship of Tiberius, proved successful, and in less than two years the revolt of the Germans had been put down and the prestige of the Roman arms restored among the tribes along the Rhine.

Meanwhile, young Germanicus had not only won laurels for himself in the field, under the leadership of Tiberius, during the campaigns in Germany. He had become generally recognized at Rome, as well as with the legions along the Rhine and the Danube, as a kind and generous man. Furthermore he displayed admirable powers of eloquence and set a worthy example to the youth of his time of pure living and good citizenship.¹ He married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, a union which was destined to prove a source of political strength to him quite as much as of domestic happiness. For Agrippina was a woman of unblemished personal character, though of high ambition; and she so loved her husband that she shared in all the hardships of his campaigns in Germany and was by his side with her tender ministrations when he died in the East. It is greatly to the praise of Germanicus and Agrippina that they lived together in conjugal peace and happiness at a period when Roman society had become very corrupt and divorce a commonplace. From this marriage were born nine children in all, among them Caligula and the younger Agrippina, who were as noted for their vices as their parents were for their virtues. Germanicus's

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 3, *Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes et quantas nemini cuiquam contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque praecegens, benevolentiam singularem conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium.*

fruitful offspring was conspicuous at Rome in those times when the frequency of divorce and intrigue was so pronounced as to compel Augustus to pass drastic legislation concerning marriage and voluntary childlessness.

In the year A.D. 7, when a revolt broke out among the Pannonians, a party at Rome who held out uncompromisingly against Tiberius, despite his efficient generalship, induced Augustus to send young Germanicus to Pannonia. He was then only quaestor, having been appointed to the office five years before the legal age. However, to discredit Tiberius with Augustus, it was alleged that Germanicus by more vigorous military tactics would succeed where Tiberius had failed. Germanicus, accordingly, proceeded to Pannonia and attempted to crush the enemy by one fell blow; but he was led into a skillfully planned ambush and was almost cut to pieces with his troops. His bold tactics proved to be not so well adapted to warfare against the wily barbarians as Tiberius's methods of guerilla war. Consequently Tiberius had to be dispatched thither, and by his conservative strategy which had called down upon his head so much adverse criticism at Rome, he at length succeeded in quelling the revolt the following year. Shortly after this, Tiberius set out for Rome, leaving Germanicus to crush an insurrection which had sprung up in Dalmatia. But the task taxed Germanicus's resources, and Dalmatia was not pacified till Tiberius's hasty return, when a complete victory was won over the Dalmatians, and the province was subdued in October, A.D. 9. In recognition of his valuable services in putting down these uprisings the senate decreed Tiberius a triumph and arches to be erected in his honor in Pannonia; and to Germanicus, that his efforts should not pass without some token of appreciation, the senate decreed triumphal decorations and the honor of being appointed consul before the legal age.

While these distinctions were being decreed at Rome, news came of the revolt of all Germany and of the utter rout of the Roman legions under Varus. This catastrophe was one of the most stunning blows which the prestige of the Roman arms ever had to sustain. For all the legions quartered beyond the Rhine had been massacred or captured, the fortress of Aliso had been forced to capitulate and P. Quintilius Varus, the commanding officer, had taken his own life to avoid the humiliation and disgrace of being

captured by the enemy.¹ This dismal disaster put a speedy end to Rome's policy of expansion in that direction and Germany was henceforth abandoned. However, Tiberius hurried to the banks of the Rhine and in due time reorganized the defense of the frontier, and, by a timely display of strength and courage, infused new life into the demoralized legions that survived the defeat of Varus. At the same time he succeeded in impressing the Germans afresh with a profound respect for Rome's resources and power. On the advice of Tiberius, therefore, Augustus resolved to make the Rhine the Roman frontier henceforth, and Germany was abandoned after having been held as a province since its establishment by the conquest of Drusus, B.C. 12.

In the year A.D. 12 Germanicus was consul, and two years later he was appointed to the command of the eight legions on the Rhine. Setting out for the camp he undertook an expedition against the Marsi, a nation bordering the Chatti on the north. The Marsi at that time, however, were south of the Lippe, having previously moved back into the interior of the country. On his arrival in camp Germanicus had first of all to quell a mutiny among the Roman troops who on the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, demanded an increase in pay and a shorter term of service. By great tact and firmness combined with a personal appeal, he won the legions back to their allegiance and loyalty and then immediately set out on his proposed campaign. During the first year of this campaign against the Marsi Germanicus accomplished but little save to divert the minds of the soldiers from their recent reproach, the defeat of Varus, and to inspire them with fresh courage and determination. The following year he began a more vigorous and aggressive campaign in the hope of avenging the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest. He hoped, too, if possible, to recover the province conquered by his father and to advance the frontier beyond the Rhine to its former limits.

On the Rhine the Romans established the headquarters of the army of Upper Germany at *Moguntiacum* (Mentz), while the camp of the army of Lower Germany was located among the Ubii at the *oppidum*. About A.D. 50, this town was made a Roman colony,

¹ Cf. *Annals* 1. 55; Dio Cassius, 56. 18-22; Velleius Paterculus, 2. 117-119.

Colonia Agrippina, modern Cologne, in honor of the Empress Agrippina who was born there, and the legions were removed to Bonn.¹ However, the principal military position on the Lower Rhine was some distance below, where the Lippe empties into the Rhine. The valley of the Lippe formed the natural route to the Cherusci, whose chief, Hermann, or Arminius, as the Romans called him, had crushed Varus. Now, the military road from the Lower Rhine into the interior of Germany ran along the Lippe, and opposite the mouth of this river at *Vetera* (sc. *castra*), for strategic reasons, the Romans established the headquarters of the army of Lower Germany. About eighty miles up the Lippe from *Vetera* was fort *Aliso*, established by Drusus and lost by Varus. It was this camp at *Vetera* which Germanicus decided to make the base of all his operations along the Rhine except the short campaign of the year A.D. 14 against the Chatti.

After the campaign against the Chatti, Germanicus undertook the next year (A.D. 15) a longer expedition against the Bructeri, who inhabited the country between the Lippe and the Ems, bordering on the Cherusci. The entire country between these rivers Germanicus laid waste,² and the expedition brought him into the region of Varus's memorable defeat. He therefore determined to visit the scene of that disaster.

Tacitus³ tells us that the locality was the Teutoburg Forest, on the Lippe and not very far from the Ems. It will be recalled that Varus had penetrated to the Weser,⁴ where he remained some time in summer quarters. Here he was informed of a distant insurrection. He, therefore, set out with his entire army, bag and baggage, women and children, for his winter quarters at *Vetera*, his purpose being to crush the uprising *en route*. The route Varus selected lay through a densely wooded country abounding in deep ravines and bogs, where amid great difficulties in the forest he had to cut down trees and build bridges for his army to pass through. While thus engaged, Varus was surrounded and attacked by the allied German tribes under the leadership of Arminius and utterly routed.

¹ Cf. *Annals* 1. 31. 3.

² Cf. *Annals* 1. 60. 5.

³ Cf. *Annals* 1. 60 *seq.*; *ib.* 2. 7.

⁴ Cf. Dio Cassius, 56. 18.

The exact seat of this disaster seems impossible to determine. Many critics have investigated the locality, and various locations have been suggested. But scholars are not yet agreed on any one place as the actual site of the defeat. However, it is evident from the record of Tacitus¹ that the Teutoburg Forest lay somewhere between the Lippe and Ems rivers. Among those who have investigated the matter Allen² thinks that the forest of Havisbrock east of Beckum and northeast of Hamm is the locality which corresponds most closely to Tacitus's description. But, as Allen pertinently remarks, probably fifty localities could be found within the region of the Weser, the Ems and the Lippe which would correspond sufficiently well with the description of the battlefield given by Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Velleius and Florus.³ The chief point is to establish one locality to the exclusion of all others. This, it need hardly be observed, remains yet to be done.⁴

After visiting the battlefield where some of the silver eagles of the ill-fated legions were recovered and the last offices were duly paid to their bleaching bones, Germanicus resumed his march, advancing only a short distance before he encountered the legionaries of the redoubtable Arminius. The encounter took place near the scene of Varus's defeat, and a long and doubtful battle ensued. But the Romans at length prevailed, routing the Germans, and took among the captives Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius who thereupon became furious to avenge her capture. Thus ended the campaign of the year A.D. 15, which, while not regarded a great success, was still by no means barren of results; for it afforded the Roman leader more experience in waging a successful war against the fierce allied tribes of Germany.

In the campaign of the following year Germanicus showed his strategy by dividing his army and availing himself of his fleet. One division he sent up the Ems by ship to an appointed landing place

¹ *Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.* — *Ann.* 1. 60. 5.

² See his edition of the *Annals*, Excursus, p. 108.

³ Cf. Dio Cassius, 56. 20; Velleius, 2. 119; Florus, 2. 30. 36.

⁴ See a further discussion of the question in the notes to the text (*Annals* 1. 60 and 2. 7).

and himself marched the other division across the country to the Weser,¹ which he crossed with no great difficulty. Somewhere on the banks of the Weser he again encountered Arminius who meanwhile had roused all the neighboring tribes, from exasperation at the capture of his wife in the former battle, to make common cause with his own tribe, the Cherusci, against the Romans. He hurled his combined forces against the Roman legions, but without success. Germanicus held his ground, and Arminius was forced to retire in defeat. Germanicus then led his army back to winter quarters, intending the following summer to put a speedy end to the war. On the way back, however, he met with considerable loss of men and ships from the adverse weather.

In recognition of his successful expedition against the Germans the senate decreed Germanicus a triumph, which he was very loth then to go to Rome to celebrate. For he himself desired above all to prosecute the war, believing that he could utterly crush the Germans in another year, and then he would gladly celebrate his well-earned victory. At this juncture, when he was earnestly pleading for an extension of time to complete his conquest of the Germans, he was summoned to Rome by Tiberius, ostensibly to celebrate his triumph. On his arrival in Rome, Germanicus celebrated his triumph with a grand pageant and pomp and the entire population of the city turned out to greet him. Amid the acclamations of the people he was proclaimed the hero who had triumphed over the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Angrivarii and other tribes of Germany as far as the Elbe. As a spectacle Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, was exhibited in the triumphal procession along the Sacred Way.

The triumph celebrated, Germanicus was not permitted to return to Germany, but was dispatched with the highest *imperium* to the East to superintend affairs in Armenia, where he was to be installed as king. Tiberius, it is alleged, took this step out of sheer envy, being jealous of the glory and popularity Germanicus had won in Germany. At all events, the fact that the emperor at the same time appointed the haughty and envious Cn. Calpurnius Piso viceroy of Syria lends color to the allegation and tends to confirm the view held by most historians that the transfer was dictated by ill-will. Certainly Piso

¹ See *Annals* 2. 8. 4.

availed himself of every opportunity to embarrass and thwart Germanicus after the latter set out on his mission.

Germanicus had no alternative open to him and so he accepted his new appointment, reluctantly leaving Rome for his far-off field of activity. He entered upon his second consulship at Nicopolis, in Achaia, on his way to the East. Marked attention was shown him at Athens and other places he visited *en route*. Piso hounded his steps and rebuked the citizens for the attention shown him, thus indirectly censuring Germanicus, but Germanicus overlooked the reproach. It was evident, however, that a storm was gathering on the eastern horizon which boded ill for Germanicus, and it was not long before it was destined to burst over his head. Tiberius took occasion to show his animus when he censured Germanicus with asperity because he turned aside to visit Egypt, partly to see the interesting antiquities of that ancient civilization and partly to inquire into the state of affairs of that imperial province. On his return from Egypt Germanicus learned that all his work in the East had been undermined by Piso, and Germanicus in retaliation proceeded to inflict indignities upon him. Piso thereupon determined to withdraw from Syria, but, Germanicus being taken suddenly ill, he lingered to await developments. Germanicus soon grew better, but later had a relapse and died at Antioch, 9 October, A.D. 19, in his thirty-fourth year.¹ His ashes were conveyed to Rome by his devoted Agrippina, who was with him during the fatal illness, as she always had been ever since their marriage. A simple funeral without pomp or display followed upon her arrival. Rome never more deeply lamented the death of an illustrious son, for his many noble qualities of heart and head had, even in his brief career, endeared him to the public and won admirers for him among all classes of society.

The circumstances of Germanicus's death indicated poison as the cause, and suspicion pointed clearly to Piso. Accordingly, he was cited before the senate and tried, and in anticipation of an unfavorable verdict he took his own life. Rumor associated the emperor's name with the crime, but without foundation in fact. About a decade later Agrippina with two of her sons was banished to the island of Pandataria, because of alleged complicity in a conspiracy,

¹ For an account of his death see *Annals* 2. 69-72.

where she died three years after.¹ Thus Tiberius gave proof of his unrelenting hatred to the family of Germanicus.

It may be remarked in conclusion that in addition to his military renown Germanicus was esteemed as an orator and an author, and bequeathed to posterity a paraphrase of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus in 725 lines and three fragments of the same writer's *Prognostica*, still preserved.²

VIII.

LANGUAGE, STYLE AND RHETORIC.

Language.

The language and style of Tacitus differ no little from the Latinity of Cicero's age. For the most part, these differences consist in the matter of diction and are attributable to the peculiarities of the author; yet some of them are of course to be explained as common to the age rather than to the peculiarities of Tacitus's manner of expression. Not only had the language changed in its structural features, but it had changed, also, in syntax and vocabulary since the golden age. The periodic order of the Ciceronian age had given place to the simpler, more natural order of the silver age in which the thought is apparent from the beginning and is not held in suspense till the end of the sentence. The vocabulary of the silver age had meanwhile taken on a decided poetic coloring. No writer of the silver age furnishes a better illustration of such changes than does Tacitus. His style is almost the opposite of the periodic; his language is picturesque in its turns of expression and locutions and his vocabulary is most striking in its poetic coloring. He was such a close student of Vergil that the influence of the Mantuan bard is discernible not only in the *Dialogus*, the product of Tacitus's apprentice hand, but even in his mature and distinctive *Annals*.

Furthermore, Tacitus's style was influenced to no small extent by his profession, the law. This remark applies quite as much to his style of thought and manner of presentation as to his language.

¹ For a full account see *Annals* 6. 25. 5; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 53.

² See Duff, *Literary History of Rome*, pp. 369 and 623; Teuffel, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, § 275.

His rhetoric is brilliant and his diction florid, reflecting the characteristics of the silver age. For it was these literary qualities particularly that the prevailing fashion of the times prescribed for a forensic orator who desired above all things to make a direct and powerful appeal to court or jury. The style of public speaking that Cicero practiced, with its long sonorous periods, would have been regarded as antiquated and would hardly have been tolerated in the law courts in Tacitus's day. It follows, then, that Tacitus's literary style was acquired largely in the practice of his profession in the law courts. It was from this forensic practice, too, that he developed that directness, terseness and brevity of expression and that graphic dramatic power which are recognized among the most salient features of his mature style as illustrated in the *Annals*.

Tacitus's style is sometimes divided by the critics into three periods, viz., his imitative period represented by the *Dialogus*, written under the influence of Cicero; his formative period represented by the *Agricola* and *Germania*, written under the influence of Sallust and Livy; and his mature style represented by the *Historiae* and *Annales*, written after the author had served his apprenticeship, and his genius, emancipated from its models, had now become peculiar and distinctive, especially in the *Annals*. Livy may well have served him as a model of eloquence and Sallust as an example of incisiveness and brevity. Vergil of course influenced him throughout all three periods.¹

It may be worth while to give here a summary, after Draeger,² of the most conspicuous characteristics of Tacitus's style.

Nouns, Adjectives and Pronouns.

1. Abstract nouns. Tacitus shows a special fondness for the use of abstract nouns, which he employs in two forms: (a) in the plural,

¹ For lists of phraseological parallelisms between Tacitus, on the one hand, and Livy, Sallust and Vergil, on the other, see Wölfflin, *Philologus*, Vol. XXVI, 122-234, and Draeger, *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1882), § 259. See further Wölfflin, *Philologus*, XXIV, 115-123; XXV, 92-134; XXVII, 113-149.

² See *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1882 (cited above). Furneaux's synopsis served as a model for this summary of Draeger's treatise.

as *dignationes* 2. 33. 5; (b) as substitute for concrete, as *matrimonia* (=wives) 2. 13. 3; *amicitia* (=friends) 2. 27. 2; 2. 77. 1; *liberalitas* (=gift) 2. 37. 2; *iura* (=charters) 3. 60. 4; *consilia* (=advisers) 4. 40. 2; etc.

2. The adjective use of substantives in apposition. This is a poetic usage and is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, as *mare Oceanus* 1. 9. 6; *imperator populus* 3. 6. 2; etc.

3. Tacitus shows a decided predilection for the substantival use of neuter adjectives and for the substantival use of adjectives in general, as *nulli* 2. 77. 6; *in lubrico* 1. 72. 3; *falsa* 2. 82. 8; *incerta* 2. 39. 5; *occulta* 2. 88. 1; etc.

4. The adverbial use of neuter adjectives, after the analogy of poetical usages, as *recens* 2. 21. 1; *aeternum* 3. 26. 3; *immensum* 3. 30. 2; *praeceps* 4. 62. 3; *diversi* 2. 73. 6; *rarus* 2. 57. 4; etc.

5. The pronoun of the third person is frequently omitted by Tacitus, especially *se*, as in 1. 35. 5; 2. 71. 8; 2. 83. 4; 4. 59. 5. Tacitus sometimes omits *eum*, as in 1. 69. 3; 3. 49. 1; etc.; and *iis* or *quibus* in the ablative absolute, as *orantibus* 1. 29. 2; *cohabita* 3. 33. 1; and *nos*, as in 1. 22. 3; *nobis* 3. 54. 5; *me* 4. 38. 1; etc.

6. A characteristic Tacitean usage is the employment of *quis* for *quisque* in the form *ut quis*, as 1. 69. 2; 2. 24. 6; 2. 73. 6; 2. 83. 1. Tacitus occasionally uses *quis* for *uter*, as in 1. 47. 2; 3. 1. 4, *quid pro tempore foret*, etc.

CASES.

A. Accusative.

7. Tacitus shows an extended use of the poetical construction of the Greek accusative of specification, as *contectus humeros* 2. 13. 1; *frontem ac tergum vallo*, *latera concaedibus munitus* 1. 50. 2; *clari genus* 6. 9. 5; *adlevatur animum* 6. 43. 3; etc.

8. A wider extension of the terminal accusative, as *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur* 2. 59. 1; etc.

9. Tacitus frequently uses an accusative clause in apposition to a sentence to express the effect or purpose of an action, or in explanation of the idea contained in the verb, as *causam discordiae et initium armorum* 1. 27. 1; *piaculum furoris* 1. 49. 5; etc.

10. Tacitus frequently uses a compound verb with a simple

accusative where model classical prose requires the dative or the repetition of the preposition, as *pugnam aut vincula elapsi* 1. 61. 6. He added to the verbs previously so employed the following: *advehi* (with accusative of person) 2. 45. 4; *praecellere* 2. 43. 7; *praeire* 2. 83. 2; *intervenire* 3. 23. 1; *erumpere* 12. 63. 2; *exire* 6. 49. 3; *inrepere* 4. 2. 3; *praeminere* 3. 56. 2; *adcurrere* 15. 53. 3.

11. Tacitus extended the Graecism of an accusative of the object after middle and passive verbs like *induor* (Vergil), as *falsa exterritus* 4. 28. 4; *falsum renidens* 4. 60. 3; etc.

B. Dative.

12. Tacitus, following the usage of Livy and the poets, extends still farther the use of the dative of local relations where normal prose requires the preposition *in* with the ablative. This occurs with such verbs as *excusare* 1. 12. 3; *eximere* 1. 48. 2; *abstrahere* 2. 5. 1; etc.

13. Tacitus extends the Greek dative of attraction, elsewhere confined to *volenti* (*volentibus*), as *invitis aut cupientibus* 1. 59. 1.

14. The dative of purpose or end with the verb *esse* is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, as *morti* 1. 23. 6; *itineri et praelio* 1. 51. 4; *usui, obtentui, subsidio*, etc.

15. Tacitus does not restrict the dative of the agent to passive participles, or the gerundive, but extends it much more widely, as *prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt* 1. 1. 4; *sibi . . . aspisci* 1. 17. 10; *propinquis suis ultra ducentessimum lapidem removeretur* 2. 50. 5; etc.

16. Dative of the gerund and gerundive, after the analogy of the classical locutions *solvendo esse* and *scribendo esse*. This construction occurs with increasing frequency in the *Annals*, being used with adjectives and verbs often with the force of a final clause, as *Caecinam . . . distrahendo hosti . . . mittit* 1. 60. 2; *Tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae deligitur* 2. 4. 2; *qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus* 1. 23. 5; *Sed amici accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera* 2. 57. 3; etc.

17. Dative of a noun modifying another like a genitive, — a poetical usage imitated by Livy, — as *rector iuveni* 1. 24. 3; *paci firmator* 2. 46. 6; etc.

18. Dative after compound verbs where model prose requires the accusative with a preposition, as *pectori adcreverat* 1. 29. 1; etc.

19. Dative as substitute for *ad* with the accusative after adjectives, as *quis servitio promptior* 1. 2. 1; *agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum* 1. 31. 2; *facilem inanibus* 2. 27. 2; etc.

C. Genitive.

20. Nothing is more characteristic of Tacitus than his frequent use of the partitive genitive, or the semi-partitive where the idea of partition has almost disappeared. This construction occurs: (a) after abstract nouns, as *uligines paludum* 1. 17. 5; (b) after neuter singulars (and is not restricted to an adjective or pronoun in the nominative or accusative case), as *umido paludum* 1. 61. 2; (c) after neuter plurals, as *subiecta vallium* 1. 65. 1; *tacita suspicionum* 4. 41. 1; (d) after masculine or feminine, as *leves cohortium* 3. 39. 1; (e) with adverbs like *ubi*, *ubique*, *longe*, *eo* and *huc*, as *eo furoris* 1. 18. 2; *huc adrogantiae* 3. 73. 1; etc.

21. Tacitus makes free use of the objective genitive: (a) for the possessive pronoun unrestricted to cases of special emphasis, as *nostri origine* 2. 54. 3; (b) with verbs, such as *movere* 1. 67. 1; *aspici* 3. 55. 1; (c) with participles, such as *cupiens* 1. 75. 4; *intolerans* 1. 31. 4; *sciens* 1. 64. 6; *retinens* 2. 38. 9; *impatiens* 2. 64. 4; (d) with adjectives, such as *formidolosiore* *hostium* 1. 62. 3; *ambiguus imperandi* 1. 7. 4; *exitii certus* 1. 27. 3; *incerti ultionis* 2. 75. 1; *animi ferox* 1. 32. 5; *ingens animi* 1. 69. 2; *manifesta delicti* 2. 85. 3; etc.

22. The gerundive genitive is of common occurrence in the *Annals*, as *bellum abolendae infamiae* 1. 3. 6; *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis* 2. 59. 1; *vitandae suspicionis* 3. 9. 2; *tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae* 3. 27. 1. Here may be subjoined the elliptical genitive of the gerund peculiar to Tacitus (found only in the *Annals*), as *nec grave manumissis . . . retinendi libertatem* 13. 26. 4.

D. Ablative.

23. Tacitus extends the use of the ablative of place whence without a preposition to names of countries, after the analogy of *domo*, *rure*, etc., as *remeantur Armenia* 1. 3. 3; etc. Analogous is the ablative of common nouns, as *fuga impediverat* 1. 39. 6; *progrediuntur contuberniis* 1. 41. 2.

24. Likewise free is his use of place where without a preposition as

in poetry, as *porta triumphali* 1. 8. 4; *litore Oceani* 1. 63. 5; *finibus Frisiorum* 1. 60. 2; *structis molibus* 2. 60. 4; etc.

25. The instrumental ablative is extended to persons, as *corruptoribus* 2. 79. 4.

26. The ablative of length of time is employed by Tacitus, as *quattuordecim annis* 1. 53. 6; *triumviratu* 3. 28. 31. Here may be noted his use of the preposition *in* to express time when, as *tali in tempore* 2. 84. 3.

27. Tacitus does not hesitate to employ the ablative of manner without the requisite adjective, as *spe vel dolore* 1. 59. 1; *clamore et impetu* 1. 68. 4; *excusando* 1. 10. 7. He also shows great boldness in his free use of the ablative of quality of persons without adding a common noun, as *artibus egregiis* 1. 13. 1; *Blaesus multa dicendi arte* 1. 19. 2; *mariti magis quam parentis animo* 1. 57. 5 (where the genitive takes the place of an adjective).

28. Tacitus offers certain peculiar uses of: (a) the causal ablative, as *iactantia gloriaque* 1. 8. 2; *dissensione ordinum* 3. 27. 2; (b) the ablative absolute both with participles as predicate, as *orantibus* 1. 29. 2; *intellecto* 1. 49. 3; *quaesito* 2. 9. 1; *adito* 1. 35. 6; and with adjectives, as *periculoso* 1. 6. 6; *libero* 3. 60. 6.

Verbs.

29. Tacitus often omits the verb: (a) verbs of saying or thinking, as 1. 9. 4; 1. 38. 3; 1. 41. 2; 2. 5. 3; (b) verbs of motion, especially in graphic description or rhetorical passages, as 1. 43. 1; 4. 38. 5; (c) the verb *esse* particularly, (1) indicative mood even in subordinate clauses, as *cuius manu* 1. 7. 9; *ut quis inops aut saucius* 1. 69. 2; *ubi crematus* 2. 83. 3; *donec id quoque vetitum* 4. 74. 6; (2) subjunctive mood, as *ne laeti*, etc. 1. 7. 2; *quam arduum*, etc. 1. 11. 2; (3) infinitive mood, as *fore inane* 2. 15. 3; *fuisse petiturum* 2. 31. 4.

30. Tacitus, under the influence of the poets, offers copious examples of the use of simple verbs for compound, especially in the *Annals*, as *gravescere* 1. 5. 1; *solari* 1. 14. 1; *asperavere* 1. 72. 5; *arserit* 1. 73. 1. Draeger (§ 25) cites thirty-nine examples.

31. As peculiarities of Tacitus may be mentioned here: (a) the use of a plural verb as predicate to two separate singular personal subjects, as *Arminius integer Inguiomerus . . . deseruere* 1. 68. 6; *Augustus avus Antonius erant* 2. 53. 3; (b) the plural predicate with

collectives, as *pars navium haustae sunt* 2. 24. 2; etc.; (c) the intransitive use of transitive verbs, as *vertunt* 1. 18. 3; *flexit* 1. 34. 5; *rupturus* 2. 17. 6; etc.; (d) *coepi* is used indiscriminately with and without a middle force (like *feri*, *haberi*, *duci*, etc.), as *audiri coepere* 1. 34. 2; *ut coepere dimoveri* 4. 63. 1. Also *desino* is so used, as *rogari desineret* 1. 13. 60. Once at least *coeptus* is employed in an active sense, viz., 1. 65. 3. (e) The use of poetical passives of deponent participles as substantives, as *inausum* 1. 42. 3; *ausum* 2. 39. 3; and also as participles, as *ausus* 3. 67. 4.

32. Tacitus has some bold uses of the infinitive: (a) as direct object after such verbs as *ambiretur* (*accipere*) 2. 43. 4; *inlectus* (*ducere*) 2. 37. 2; 4. 12. 7; (b) accusative with subject infinitive after such verbs as *illacrimare* 2. 71. 4; and after negative expressions of doubt (Livy has the same), as *nec dubium habebatur labare . . . sumere* 2. 26. 2; 2. 36. 2; 2. 43. 4; etc. (c) The historical infinitive abounds, as *lascivire miles discordare*, etc. 1. 16. 3; 4. 69. 6; 4. 70. 4. It occurs even in temporal clauses, as *cum . . . prensare dextras inserere gladium* 2. 31. 1; 2. 40. 1; *ubi minitari Artabanus* 2. 4. 4; *postquam exui aequalitas* 3. 26. 3. (d) Tacitus occasionally uses the nominative with the infinitive (personal construction) where normal prose requires the impersonal construction, as *consedissee intellegebantur* 1. 61. 3. With verbs of accusing the personal construction prevails, as *argueretur* 2. 50. 3; *accusata* 4. 22. 4; *defertur* 2. 27. 1. On the other hand, Tacitus employs also the impersonal forms *creditur* 2. 69. 5; *traditur* 4. 57. 4. (e) The infinitive as a substitute for the gerund or gerundive, as *dissentire manifestus* 2. 57. 4; *properus clarescere* 4. 52. 2.

33. Of the indicative mood Tacitus offers two striking uses: (a) He goes much farther than Livy in introducing, in *oratio obliqua*, a relative clause or an explanatory clause in the indicative, as *ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatur* 1. 10. 1; *legata quae petiverant* 1. 36. 4; *quae per seditionem expresserant* 1. 39. 3; *sive . . . abstulerat* 1. 10. 1; *dum Caesar . . . consulitur* 2. 81. 3. (b) He makes copious rhetorical use of the indicative for the subjunctive in the apodosis of conditional clauses, as *Ac ni . . . aberant* 1. 23. 3; *ferrum parabant* 1. 23. 6; *deferebat in pectus ni* 1. 35. 5; *si . . . aspernaretur, tamen indignum erat* 1. 42. 5; *Mox bellum . . . mandat ni deditionem properavissent impleverat* 4. 9. 1.

34. Tacitus offers a few characteristic uses of the subjunctive: (a) of repeated action (rare before Livy), especially with relative particles, as *cum in senatu loqueretur* 1. 7. 8; *ut quis . . . occurreret* 1. 27. 8; *ubi . . . obiectivissent* 1. 44. 8; *quotiens per urbes incederet* 2. 2. 5; (b) free use of the potential subjunctive (hypothetical), as *meare . . . recipias* 1. 28. 7; *discerneres* 3. 1. 5; *ut sic dixerim* (passim); (c) with *quamquam* and *donec* to express a fact, as *quamquam esset* 1. 3. 5; *quamquam maestiam imitarentur* 1. 34. 4; *quamquam . . . pervenirent* 3. 55. 4; *donec deterrerentur* 1. 1. 4; *donec Haterius Augustam oraret* 1. 13. 7; etc. But the indicative is also found with *quamquam* and *donec*, as *quamquam id quoque dictum est* 1. 76. 7; *donec fama eadem tulit* 1. 5. 6. Sometimes Tacitus employs a participial construction with *quamquam*, as *quamquam exercitu contracto* 1. 48. 1. Note, too, that *quamvis* is used with the subjunctive to express a fact, as in 1. 68. 7; 2. 38. 10, and that *quantum* occurs with the subjunctive, as *quantumque saevitia glisceret* 6. 19. 5; *quantum introspiceret* 6. 21. 4.

Participles.

35. Tacitus makes abundant use of participles to attain conciseness and brevity. The following striking uses are worthy of note: (a) the present participle with substantival force, as *Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium* 2. 2. 4; (b) the perfect aorist participle of passive verbs as well as of deponent verbs, as *occisis . . . vulnerato tribuno* 1. 77. 1; *missis in Graeciam populis* 4. 55. 7; (c) the future participle to express purpose (as in Livy), sometimes with *quasi*, *tamquam* and *ut*, as *invasurus hostis* 1. 36. 2; *bello certaturus* 1. 45. 3; *ipse in tempore adfuturus* 2. 17. 1; *Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites* 1. 47. 5; *non pugnaturis militibus* (ablative absolute equal to a clause) 2. 80. 4; (d) the perfect participle for the classic prose construction of an abstract noun with limiting genitive, as *cum occisus dictator Caesar* 1. 8. 7; *nisi quod mutatus princeps* 1. 16. 1; *Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata* 1. 59. 1; *rapta uxor* 1. 59. 2; (e) the perfect participle in the nominative neuter, either with or without a substantive, in place of a *quod*-clause, as *Cunctaque socialia prospere composita* 2. 57. 1; *nihil occultum* 3. 9. 3. For further examples see Draeger, § 211.

Prepositions.

36. Among the peculiar uses of prepositions in Tacitus may be mentioned the following: (a) *apud* with names of places and countries instead of the locative, or *in* with the ablative, as *apud urbem Nolam* 1. 5. 5; *arae apud quas* 1. 61. 5; *apud paludes* 1. 64. 3; *Misenum apud et Ravennam* 4. 5. 1; (b) *erga* in the sense "against," or "with reference to," as *lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas* 2. 2. 5; *erga Germanicum* 2. 76. 3; (c) *in* with the accusative expressing purpose or result, as *in speciem ac terrorem* 2. 6. 3; *in incertum* 1. 11. 3; *in lacrimas* 1. 57. 5; *in deterius* 2. 82. 1; *in dominum* 2. 39. 3; (d) *per* with the accusative equivalent to an ablative of instrument, manner or cause, as *per acies* 1. 2. 1; *per nomen* 1. 17. 5; *per ferociam* 2. 17. 1.

Conjunctions, etc.

37. Tacitus shows a marked fondness for asyndeton; e.g., *legiones provincias classes cuncta* 1. 9. 6; *senatus magistratum legum* 1. 2. 1; *inserunt . . . offerunt . . . intendunt* 1. 28. 5; etc. Moreover, he frequently abbreviates compound sentences: (a) by supplying *magis* or *potius* from a following *quam*, as *pacem quam bellum probabam* 1. 58. 2; (b) by employing *quanto* with a positive in the relative clause without adding *magis*, as *quanto inopina tanto maiora* 1. 68. 5; (c) by omitting *tanto* or *eo magis* in the principal clause, as *quanto quis servitio promptior*, etc. 1. 2. 1; *quanto incautius effererat, paenitentia patiens tulit* 1. 74. 7; etc.

Rhetorical Devices.

Among the conspicuous devices of style and rhetoric adopted by Tacitus may be mentioned the following:—

38. Vocabulary. Tacitus uses (a) many poetical words, such as *brevia* (shoals) 1. 70. 3; 6. 33. 5; *lapsare* 1. 65. 6; *amotus* (banished) 1. 53. 6; *gnarus* (=notus) 1. 5. 4; *notescere* 1. 73. 3; *sonor* 1. 65. 1; *celerare* 2. 5. 2; *adsultus* 2. 21. 1; *honorus* 1. 10. 7; *indefessus* 1. 64. 5; *intemeratus* 1. 42. 3; *secundare* 2. 24. 4; *valescere* 2. 39. 5; etc.; and (b) coins some new words, such as *defector* 1. 48. 1; *regnatrrix* 1. 4. 4; *inreligiose* 2. 50. 2; *antehabere* 1. 58. 6; *adpugnare* 2. 81. 1; *concaedes* 1. 50. 2; *lucar* 1. 77. 5; *quinguplicare* 2. 36. 5; *sacrificialis* 2. 69. 3; *superurgere* 2. 23. 4; etc. See Draeger, § 249 foll.

39. Arrangement of words for rhetorical effect. 1. Anaphora: *non* 1. 1. 3; *ad* 1. 11. 5; *ut* 1. 62. 1; *statim* 2. 87. 7; *miles* 1. 7. 7; *gravis* 1. 10. 4. 2. Anastrophe: (a) prepositions, as *coram* 1. 19. 3; *inter* 1. 60. 5; *iuxta* 2. 41. 1; *super* 3. 1. 1; (b) conjunctions, as *cum* 1. 63. 6; *ut* 12. 49. 3; *si* 14. 3. 3. 3. Chiasmus: *inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi* 1. 63. 4; *huc modo, modo illuc* 12. 1. 4; 1. 72. 3; 3. 4. 2; etc. 4. Hendiadys: *tempus atque iter* 2. 34. 6; *gaudio et impetu* 3. 74. 6; etc. 5. Metaphor: *exuere* 1. 2. 1; *induere* 1. 69. 2; *rumpere* 1. 42. 4; *volvere* 1. 64. 7; *hauriri* 1. 70. 4; 2. 8. 3; 3. 72. 4; *vergere* 2. 43. 1; *aetate adulta* 2. 23. 1; *moles* 2. 7. 8; *angusta et lubricata oratio* 2. 87. 3; *saevitia annonae* 2. 87. 1. 6. Personification: *nox* 1. 28. 1; 2. 14. 1; *annus* 1. 54. 1; 2. 53. 1; *Tiber* 1. 79. 4; *vestigia morientis libertatis* 1. 74. 6; etc.

40. Brachylogy, devices adopted for brevity. 1. Various ellipses, such as omission of substantive, verb, pronoun, etc., already noted. Draeger (§ 238) notes, in addition, such omissions as *lex* 3. 25. 1; *dies* 4. 45. 4; *uxor* 4. 11. 4, etc. 2. Zeugma, a marked characteristic of Tacitus's style, as *redimi* 1. 17. 6; *probabam* 1. 58. 2; *permisit* 2. 20. 2; *appellans* 2. 45. 4. 3. Syllepsis (a variant form of zeugma), as *cura sibi que et proelio firmabat* 1. 71. 5; *nomen . . . favor habebat* 2. 44. 3. 4. Parenthesis, such as an explanatory phrase in apposition in the nominative, equivalent to a relative clause, as *vix credibile dictu* 1. 35. 6; *rarum* 1. 39. 7; 1. 56. 2; *mirum dictu* 2. 17. 4. 5. Such constructions as *ius legationis . . . facunde miseratur* 1. 39. 8; *Igitur orta die prorunt fossas* 1. 68. 2; *pericula polliceri* 2. 40. 3. 6. Copious use of participles, so characteristic of Tacitus's style already noted above (§ 35).

41. Inconcinnity, than which no rhetorical feature is more characteristic of Tacitus's style. This term is applied to a tendency, which appears in Livy and becomes very common in Tacitus, to avoid normal collocations and stereotyped phrases, in order to attain variety in style. This trick of rhetoric is accomplished: (a) by varying the name, as *Crispum . . . C. Sallustius* 3. 30. 3; *nomen . . . cognomentum . . . vocabulum* 2. 6. 5; (b) by varying the form of the same word (especially conjunctions), as *que . . . et . . . ca* 1. 1. 5; *que . . . et . . . et . . . ac* 2. 60. 4; (c) by changing prepositions, as *in culpam . . . ad paenitentiam* 1. 28. 7; *inter Treveros . . . apud Aeduos* 3. 40. 1; (d) by shifting from a simple case to a

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preposition with a case, as *accipiendisq̄ue copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna* 2. 6. 4; *Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae misericordiae refero* 2. 37. 6; (e) by employing a great variety of words to express a common notion, such as death, as *vita cedere, vita concedere, concedere, excedere, oppetere, obire, finire*; (f) by miscellaneous variations of expression (see Draeger, § 233), as (1) present participle and gerundial ablative, as *modo semet adflitando, modo singulos nomine ciens* 2. 81. 1; (2) gerundive and *ut* or *neu* clause, as *appellandum . . . ut adscriberetur* 1. 14. 2; *habenda . . . utque . . . destinaretur* 2. 36. 1; (3) by changing from a noun to a subordinate clause, or from an adjective or participle to a final clause, as *magnitudinem . . . et quam propinquus*, etc. 2. 63. 4; *rati . . . an ne . . . intellexerentur* 3. 31. 1; (4) by abruptly shifting from indirect to direct discourse in reported speeches, as in 2. 77. 2; 3. 12. 4; etc.

42. In conclusion it may be observed that Tacitus rarely employs a construction or locution which had not already been Latinized. It is true that we occasionally find such a Graecism as the use of *si* with expressions of fear, as *quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur* 1. 11. 5, or such a locution as the use of the genitive after *diversa*, as *diversa omnium* 1. 49. 1. However, such solecisms rarely mar the Latinity of his pages and he seldom resorts to a Greek word. Nor does he often have recourse to Latin archaisms as Sallust did, who was even suspected of having lists of archaic words made for introduction into his writings. Tacitus's vocabulary has a rich poetical coloring. He shows great variety and conciseness of diction combined with his brevity of expression. Other less characteristic features of his language, style and syntax will be pointed out in the notes.



CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; liber- 1
tatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae 2
ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas
ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare
ius diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa domi- 3
natio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem,
Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui
cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub
imperium accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera 4
vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; tem-
poribusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia,
donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique 5
et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum
falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis com-
positae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto 6
et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera,
sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam pub- 1
lica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque

- Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo ad-versante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa
- 2 mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnue-bant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.
- 1 **3.** Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Clau-
dium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adolescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus ^{honored} extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sump-sit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos ^{step} imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo
- 2 sua. Nam genitos Agrippā Gaium ac Lucium in fami-liam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili prae-texta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules
- ^{under the appearance of refusing} 3 specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispanien-sis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere in-validum mors fato propria vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privi-gnis erat, illuc cuncta ^{turned} vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per

exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris
artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum de- 4
vinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postu-
mum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane
bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nul-
lius tamen flagitii conpertum. At hercule Germanicum 5
Druso ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit
adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam
esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus
munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum 6
nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis
infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum
quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob prae-
mium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vo- 7
cabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes
plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque re-
liquus, qui rem publicam vidisset?

4. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et 1
integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis
aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus
aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit.
Postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fati- 2
gabatur aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona liber-
tatis in ^{to no purpose} cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii
cupere. Pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis 3
rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia
accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae
moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spec-
tatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae
superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam pre-
mantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum 4

in domo regnatrice; congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem
5 et secretas lubidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

1 **5.** Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo
2 Augusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque
3 lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus ^{gratias} redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marciae
4 aperuisse, illam Liviae. / Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis,
5 quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris literis accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an ex
6 animem reppererit. Acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisus quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

1 **6.** Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis
2 firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne

^{heitate}
cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse
supremum diem explevisset. Multa sine dubio sae- 3
vae Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut
exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur, perfecerat:
ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit,
neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam
credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum 4
metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis
caedem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos 5
militiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse
sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum re-
spondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps 6
secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit,
metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu
vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne
consilia amicorum, ^{secrete} ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve
Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum
vocando: eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter
ratio constet, quam si uni reddatur. /

7. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, ^{senatus} patres, 1
eques. Quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac 2
^{leges} festinantes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu prin-
cipis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus
adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Ap- 3
puleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere,
apudque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille prae-
toriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox sena-
tus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per 4
consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et
ambiguus imperandi: ne edictum quidem, quo patres in 5
curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescrip-
^{wasant}

6 tione posuit sub Augusto acceptae. Verba edicti fuere
pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis con-
sulturum, neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex
7 publicis muneribus usurpare. / Sed defuncto Augusto
signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; ex-
cubiae, arma, cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in
8 curiam comitabatur. Literas ad exercitus tamquam
adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi
9 cum in senatu loqueretur. Causa praecipua ex for-
midine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, im-
mensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor,
10 habere imperium quam exspectare mallet. Dabat et
famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur
quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione in-
11 repsisse. Postea cognitum est ad introspectiendas etiam
procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam
verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

1 **8.** Nihil primo senatus die agi passus *est* nisi de
supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per vir-
2 gines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia
in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur;
in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu
primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed
3 iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civi-
lem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens
triciens quinquens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus
singula nummum milia, *urbanis quingenos*, legionariis
aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos
4 viritim dedit. Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex
quis maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur
funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum

ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per 5 annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio, num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres corpus ad rogam umeris senatorum 6 ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, 7 multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisus etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quiescente foret.

9. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque 1 vana mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. Numerus etiam consulatum celebrabatur, quo Valerium 2 Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita eius 3 varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc 4

- legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari
5 possent neque haberi ^{per bonas artes}. Multa Antonio,
dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido
concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per
libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae
6 remedium fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. Non regno
tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine consti-
tutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut omnibus longin-
quis saeptum imperium; legiones, provincias, classes,
cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud
socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum
vi tractata, quo ^{generando} ceteris quies esset. †
- 1 **10.** Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et
tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine
dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum
ab adolescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis
legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum ^{gratiam} partium;
mox ubi decreto patrum ^{multabant} fasces et ius praetoris invaserit,
caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam
venenum vulnere adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et
machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias
occupavisse; extortum invito senatu consulatum, arma-
que quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam
versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum ne
2 ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Bru-
torum exitus paternis inimiciis datos, quamquam fas sit
privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pom-
peium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae
deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque
foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum, subdolae adfinitatis
3 poenas morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post haec,

verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, inter-
fectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. Nec dome- 4
sticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti
per ludibrium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito
partu rite nuberet; Q. Pedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus;
postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis
domui Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus 5
relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines
et sacerdotes coli vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate 6
aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam
adrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, com-
paratione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse. Etenim 7
Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam
potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam
honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institu-
tis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.
Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes 8
religiones decernuntur.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie 1
disserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. Solam 2
divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem: se in
partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse
quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae regendi-
cuncta onus. Proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris 3
subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius
munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos.
Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberio- 4
que etiam in rebus, quas non occuleret, seu natura sive
adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc
vero nitenti, ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum
et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres, quibus 5

Substantive clause

unus metus, si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas
vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua
ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique
6 iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium
sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae,
tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones.
7 Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addi-
deratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii,
incertum metu an per invidiam.

1 **12.** Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes
procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei
publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur,
2 eius tutelam suscepturum. Tum Asinius Gallus:
'Interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar, quam partem rei pub-
3 licae mandari tibi velis.' Percussus inprovisa inter-
rogatione paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respon-
dit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid
aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet.
4 Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniecit) averat)
non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari
nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse
rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum.
5 Addidit laudem de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum vic-
toriarum suarum quaeque in toga per tot annos egregie
6 fecisset admonuit. Nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem
invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M.
Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus
quam civilia agitare Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam
retineret.

1 **13.** Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discre-
pans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio

diffinit

nulla vetus in Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum,
 artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat.
 Quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, }
 quinquam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent }
 aut in pares vellent vel idem possent cuperentque,
 M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum
 Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indi-
 gnum et, si casus daretur, ausurum. De prioribus 3
 consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradi-
 dere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus
 struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius 4
 et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere,
 Haterius cum dixisset 'Quo usque patieris, Caesar,
 non adesse caput rei publicae?', Scaurus quia dixerat,
 spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod
 relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non
 intercessisset. In Haterium statim invectus est; Scau- 5
 rum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit.
 Fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum 6
 flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium,
 sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, 7
 cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantis-
 que Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus inter-
 fectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpeditus
 prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus
 est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatis-
 simis precibus protegeretur.

14. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii 1
 parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique 2
 ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' 3
 censebant. Ille moderandos feminarum honores dicti- 3

tans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi
tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebri fasti-
gium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem
ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce
4 modi prohibuit. At Germanico, Caesari proconsulare
imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul
maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur.
5 Quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod
6 designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. Candida-
tos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab
Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure
iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

1 **15.** Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres
translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio
principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant.
2 Neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani
rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis
exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures
quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa
3 et ambitu designandos. Inter quae tribuni plebei
petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de no-
4 mine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. Sed
decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali
5 veste uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum. Mox
celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter
cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

1 **16.** Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pan-
nonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi
quod mutatus princeps licentiam barbarum et ex civili
2 bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres
simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso,

qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium
 aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio 3
 lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus
 praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, di-
 sciplinam et laborem aspernari. Erat in castris Per- 4
 cennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein
 gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus hi-
 strionali studio doctus. Is inperitos animos et quatenam 5
 post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere
 paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die
 et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis 1
 ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis
 centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum
 oboedirent. Quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi 2
 novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis
 adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod 3
 tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique
 truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerant. Ne dimissis 4
 quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum ten-
 dentes alio vocabulo eisdem labores perferre. Ac si 5
 quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas
 in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel
 inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam 6
 gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam
 et corpus aestimari: hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc
 saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi.
 At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas 7
 aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna.
 Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus mili- 8
 tia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus

^{16th year should bring an end of campaigning, they should not}
^{be held longer under the standards,}
 decumus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub
³ vexillis ² tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium
 9 pecunia ³ solveretur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos
 denarios acceperint, quae post ³ sedecim ⁶ annos ⁷ penatibus
 10 suis ³ reddantur, plus periculorum ² suscipere? Non
 obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud
 horridas gentes e contuberniis ¹ hostem aspici.

1 **18.** Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi
⁴ verberum ³ notas, illi ^{white hair} canitiem, plurimi ^{worn clothing} detrita tegmina
 2 et nudum ^{naked body} corpus ² exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris
 venere, ut tres legiones ³ miscere in unam ^{meditation} agitaverint.
 3 Depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque ² legioni ⁴ eum
⁵ honorem ³ quaerebant, alio ^{They turn to something else} vertunt atque una ³ tres
 4 aquilas ⁴ et signa ⁵ cohortium ⁶ locant; simul congerunt
² caespites, ³ exstruunt ¹ tribunal, quo magis ⁴ conspicua
 5 sedes foret. ² Properantibus ³ Blaesus ^{while they engaged} advenit, increpa-
^{land} batque ac ^{loud} retinebat singulos, clamitans: 'Mea potius
^{hands rather with my blood:} caede ^{will they quit} imbuite manus: ² leviori ³ flagitio ⁴ legatum ⁵ inter-
^{then} ficietis ^{revels from the emperor} quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolumis
^{likely} fidem ³ legionum ⁴ retinebo, aut ¹ iugulatus ² paenitentiam
 adcelerabo.

1 **19.** Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque
 pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi
 2 inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte, non
 per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem
 ferenda ait, neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis
 neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et
 parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari.
 3 Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium
 quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra
 morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim mediten-

tur? ^{appoint} Decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. Adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea ^{carry out} 4 ^{request} fungeretur peteretque militibus ^{discharge} missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera mandatu- ^{Succeeded} ros, ubi prima provenissent. Profecto iuvene modicum otium: sed ^{young man having departed} superbire miles, 5 ^{haughty} quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet ^{Subsequently} necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuis- ^{those things were effected by means of which they had not obtained their moderation} sent.

20. Interea manipuli ante ¹ coeptam ² seditionem ³ 1 ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ 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insults
 probra in legatum cumulant, *heaped* caelum ac deos obtestantur,
 nihil reliqui faciunt quô minus invidiam misericordiam
 5 metum et iras *anger* permoverent. Adcurritur ab universis,
 et carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac
concerned rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

• 1 **22.** Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces.
 Et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal
 Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos
 et quid pararet intentos 'Vos quidem' inquit 'his
 innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis:
 sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit?
 quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de *concerning* communi-
 bus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores
 suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat.
 2 Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes
 3 quidem sepultura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis
 dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube,
 dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati
 legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

1 **23.** Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os
 2 manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quorum per umeros
 sustinebatur, praiceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus
 tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars
 militum gladiatores, qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars
 ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum
 3 corpus effunderentur. Ac ni propere neque corpus
 ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere
 caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset,
 4 haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribunos
 tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrudere, sarcinae
 fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur,

cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'Cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae 5 texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et 6 quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

24. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tris- 1 tissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere, ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes 2 delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. Additur magna 3 pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquantique quasi per officium obviae fuere 4 legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inluevie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus 1 firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiiri iubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. 2 Illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare

trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebant-
3 que. Tandem interrupto tumultu literas patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

1 **26.** Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi
2 centurioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et
3 patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? At
4 hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. Num-
5 quamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad sena-
6 tum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

1 **27.** Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis prae- torianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa

militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post 2
digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna
castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo per-
geret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque
commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa
iaciunt. Iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus 3
ad cursu multitudinis quae cum Druso advenerat pro-
tectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors 1
lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere.
Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, 2
suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospere-
que cessura qua pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae
redderetur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque 3
concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve,
laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere
visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles
ad superstitionem percussae semel mentes, sibi aeternum
laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamen-
tantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus 4
obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri
tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii
bonis artibus grati in vulgus. Hi vigiliis, stationibus, 5
custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum
intendunt. ‘ Quo usque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? 6
Quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacra-
mentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus sti-
pendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? Denique
pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani
capessent? Quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita 7
primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in

commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim
8 mereare, statim recipias.' Commotis per haec mentibus
et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a
9 legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii:
omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis
congregata suas in sedes referunt.

1 **29.** Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam
rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat
praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad
modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum
2 patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus
rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus
e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis
3 centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde
sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim
comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus
remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum;
terrere, ni paveant, ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni:
dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus
4 sublatis seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad asperiora
ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium
interfici iubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum
ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

1 **30.** Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator con-
quisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus
aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi: quosdam
2 ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. Auxerat
militum curas praematura hiems imbribus continuis
adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari
inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque
3 unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae,

nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum, quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum 4 octava, dein quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione imminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus non exspectato legatorum re- 5 gressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae 1 legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant: 2 cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua for- 3 tunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unet- vicensimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula multitudo, nuper 4 acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. Non unus haec, ut Pan- 5 nonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium,

sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

- 1 **32.** Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium
2 vaecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati
dstrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustis-
sima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium.
3 Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexagenis singulos, ut
numerus centurionum adaequarent: tum convulsos
laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in
4 amnem Rhenum prociunt. Septimius cum perfugisset
ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque
5 flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius
Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud
posteror adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter
6 obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non
tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit:
vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat,
7 ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius con-
iectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inplaca-
bilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu,
sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequali-
tate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

- 1 **33.** Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus,
2 census accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Nep-
tem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea
3 liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus,
Augustae nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patruī aviaeque
4 odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe
Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria,
credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem

redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa 5 ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae 6 in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, 1 tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc 2 audito legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. Et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi 3 inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Adsistentem 4 contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti 5 orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde con- 6 sensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, 1 ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum,

angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus
2 otium castrorum quaeruntur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem
3 requiem orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet imperium, promptas *res* ostenta-
4 vere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam
6 dextram vi adtinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem
7 esse. Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit, quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

1 **36.** Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur parari legatos, qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia concedentur,

in ancipiti res publica. Igitur volutatis inter se ra- 4
tionibus placitum ut epistolae nomine principis scri-
berentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis,
exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub
vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis
legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

37. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque 1
flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio
differebatur in hiberna cuiusque. Non abscessere 2
quintani unetvicensimanique, donec isdem in aestivis
contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris
pecunia persolveretur. Primam ac vicensimam legiones 3
Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi
agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa
interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem 4
ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et
sextam decumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento
adigit. Quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant: pe- 5
cunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

38. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesi- 1
dium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et
praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi
sunt. Iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, 2
bono magis exemplo quam concessio iure. Deinde 3
intumesciente motu profugus repertusque, postquam
intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non
praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tibe-
rium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritis, qui obstite- 4
rant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine
decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in
hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

- 1 **39.** Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud
2 aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones,
prima atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub
3 vexillo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vaecordes
intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent
4 quae per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo
quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum con-
sulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus
consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in
domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque
ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili
Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subi-
5 gunt. Mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita
6 consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt
contumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem
dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti
7 subsidium quam castra primae legionis. Illic signa et
aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer
Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter
hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris san-
8 guine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum,
postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus
castra Germanicus perducere ad se Plancum imperat rece-
pitque in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem,
neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint
legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem
et inmeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit
legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta
contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.
- 1 **40.** Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod
non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et

contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum. Vel si vilis 2 ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? Illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus 3 aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile 4 agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, 1 sed velut in urbe victa facies, gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. Quis ille flebilis sonus? Quod tam triste? 2 Feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros [et] externae fidei. Pudor inde 3 et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil 4 aequae flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. Isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit.

42. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica 1 cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium

- 2 Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et
liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium
offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut
quidquid istud sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine
pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta
3 Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciant. Quid enim per
4 hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? Quod nomen
huic coetui dabo? Militesne appellem, qui filium im-
peratoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? An cives,
quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? Hostium quo-
que ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis.
5 Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit,
Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant:
divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones
exterruit: nos ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si
Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et
6 indignum erat. Primane et vicensima legiones, illa sig-
nis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot prae-
miis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis?
7 Hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis
audienti, feram? Ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non
missione, non pecunia satiatos: hic tantum interfici
centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta san-
guine castra, flumina, meque precariam animam inter
infensos trahere.
- 1 **43.** Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud,
quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o
improvidi amici? Melius et amantius ille qui gladium
2 offerebat. Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum
exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui meam
quidem mortem impunitam sineret, Vari tamen et

trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim di sinant 3
ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et
claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse
Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta 4
mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis
cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant
hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus
vertant. Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia 5
pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium im-
peratori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite
a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paeni-
tentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

44. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes 1
orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in
hostem: revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus
neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinae 2
excusavit ob imminentem partum et hiemem; ventu-
rum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt 3
mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad
legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium
et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant 4
pro contione legiones dstrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu
per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant,
praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus 5
miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat,
quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti
et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo 6
post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae pro-
vinciae ob imminentis Suebos ceterum ut avellerentur
castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii
quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. 7

Citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, 8 et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia.

1 **45.** Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexagensimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera 2 nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti 3 nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

1 **46.** At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adolescentium 2 nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. Ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis 3 et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

1 **47.** Immotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque

publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa 2
angebant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior
apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic
Italiae imminens: quos igitur anteferet? Ac ne post-
positi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter 3
adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia.
Simul adolescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem 4
reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se
mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si impera-
torem sprevisent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus 5
legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit
naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo
prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

48. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu 1
et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium
ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit
litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni
supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca
caede. Eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod 2
maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat,
utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur:
nam in pace causas et merita spectari, ubi bellum
ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. Illi temp- 3
tatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem
legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati
statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et sedi-
tioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc signo inter se 4
dato inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo
nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

49. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, 1
civilium armorum facies. Non proelio, non adversis 2

- e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor vulnera sanguis palam, causa
3 in occulto; cetera fors regit. Et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio
4 et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis, sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.
- 5 Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta
6 vulnera accepissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.
- 1 **50.** Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attine-
2 mur. At Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus
3 munitus. Inde saltus obscuros permeat consultatque, ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an impeditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum.
- 4 Delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem
5 ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iube-
6 tur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et

circumdatae stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia
propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis:
adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque belli timor, ac 7
ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter temulentos.

51. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio 1
foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta
miliū spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. Non 2
sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit: profana simul
et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod
Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. Sine vulnere 3
milites, qui semisomnos, inermes aut palantis cecide-
rant. Excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes, 4
saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, insedere. Quod
gnarum duci incessitque itineri et proelio. Pars equi- 5
tum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio,
et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicensimani,
dextrum quintani clausere, vicensima legio terga
firmavit, post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec 6
agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein latera et
frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incur-
rere. Turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis 7
leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensimanos
voce magna hoc illud tempus obliterandae seditionis
clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus
vertere. Exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum 8
hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque: simul primi
agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque communivere.
Quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac priorum 9
oblitus miles in hibernis locatur

52. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: 1
gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis

pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloriaangebatur.
2 Rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione. Cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

1 **53.** Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt,
2 clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet.
3 Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae
5 temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat; literaeque, quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae
6 credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris
7 insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris,
8 nihil laetum opperientem. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per literas daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: vita

degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab 9
L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere
auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem
verti frustra speraverat.

54. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito 1
sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus
Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios
instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et 2
viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus
adiiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos 3
turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat
ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat
effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat
talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus
vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot 4
annos molliter habitum nondum audebat ad duriora
vertere.

55. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decer- 1
nitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod
quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio
veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecepit. Nam 2
spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Sege-
stem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Ar- 3
minius turbator Germaniae, Segestes parari rebellionem
saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum,
aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros
proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus
amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios
discerneret. Sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit: 4
Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus
discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius

filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus, inimici
5 soceri; quaeque apud concordēs vincula caritatis, incita-
menta irarum apud infensos erant.

1 **56.** Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque
auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum
cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones,
duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque ca-
stello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno
expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad
2 munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam (rarum
illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter
properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regre-
3 denti metuebantur. Sed Chattis adeo improvisus
advenit, ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim
4 captum aut trucidatum sit. Iuventus flumen Adranam
nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arce-
5 bant. Dein tormentis sagittisque pulsī, temptatis
frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germani-
cum per fugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in
6 silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti
caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso
hoste terga abeuntium lacescere, quod illi moris, quo-
7 tiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat
animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina
huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congregi ausos prospero
proelio cohibuit.

1 **57.** Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt
auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis
circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam
bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia
promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior

habetur. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine 2
Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur.
Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud
aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad
rebelles. Adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae 3
pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum
praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico 4
pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsi-
dentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum
et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles, inter 5
quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis
quam parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque
voce supplex; compressis intra sinum manibus gravi-
dum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae 6
cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant
praedae data: simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et
memoria bonae societatis impavidus.

58. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'Non hic 1
mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constan-
tiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, 2
amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque
odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos ante-
ponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque
idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam.
Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, 3
Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat,
reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesi- 4
dii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret
flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima!
Quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: 5
ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius

6 iniectas perpressus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia,
vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob
praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti
Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam
7 perniciem maluerit. Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam
precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. Tuum
erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio
8 concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi
responso liberis propinquisque eius incolumitatem,
9 ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. Exercitum
reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit.
Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: educatus
Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in
tempore memorabo.

1 **59.** Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vul-
gata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat,
2 spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam
violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus
vaecordem agebant, volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma
3 in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probis
temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem,
fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam
4 avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procu-
buisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus feminas
gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare.
5 Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae
6 dis patriis suspenderit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam,
redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos num-
quam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum
7 virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus
ignorantia imperi Romani inexpertae esse supplicia,

nescia tributa: quae quoniam exuerint inritusque dis-
cesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus
Tiberius, ne imperitum adolescentulum, ne seditiosum
exercitum pavescerent. Si patriam parentes anti- 8
qua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium
potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae
servitutis ducem sequerentur.

60. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci, sed con- 1
terminae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus
Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate;
unde maior Caesari metus. Et ne bellum mole una 2
ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Ro-
manis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen
Amisiam mittit, equitem Peditum praefectus finibus
Frisiorum ducit. Ipse impositas navibus quattuor 3
legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis
apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum
auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti sunt.
Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius 4
missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam
repperit undevicensimae legionis aquilam cum Varo
amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructero- 5
rum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter
vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo
reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

61. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi su- 1
prema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem
omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique
ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso 2
Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et
aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis imponeret,

incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis.

3 Prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis
trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto
vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedissee in-
tellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant,
4 ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant frag-
mina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum
5 antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud
quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones macta-
6 verant. Et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula
elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas
aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi in-
felici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tri-
bunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis,
quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam
inluserit.

7 **62.** Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum
post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente
alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut
coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira,
2 maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum extruendo
tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in
3 defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio
haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius
trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorum-
que tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiores hostium
credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustis-
simis caerimoniis praeditum adtrektare feralia debuisse.

1 **63.** Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium se-
cutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque,
2 quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi

suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis, quos per saltus occulta-
verat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque 3
subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae
auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in palu-
dem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar
productas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, 4
fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. Mox 5
reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut adve-
xerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere
Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat,
monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pon-
tes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is 6
trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio
aggeratus, cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis
incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives, quas
tum Arminius implevit, compendiis viarum et cito
agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum ante-
venisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos 7
vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hos-
tem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proe-
lium inciperent.

64. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre 1
munitoribus nisi laccessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant:
miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor. Et cuncta 2
pariter Romanis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem
ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora
gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant.
Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera 3
membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis
procul. Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae 4

5 pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne
tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum
surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque
humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi
6 labor. Quadragensimum id stipendium Caecina parendi
aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque
7 rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens
non aliud repperit quam ut hostem silvis coërceret,
donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent;
nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities,
8 quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones
quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani
ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

1 **65.** Nox per diversa inquires, cum barbari festis
epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium
ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi
ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent
vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam
2 pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quinti-
lium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum
cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen
3 obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse. Coepta
luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia,
locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra.
4 Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu
statim prorupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque im-
pedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum
ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi quisque properus et
lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos
iubet, clamitans 'En Varus eodemque iterum fato
5 vinctae legiones!' Simul haec et cum delectis scindit

agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine 6
suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus
disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus circa 7
aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia
tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum 8
sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumvenieba-
tur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium 9
aviditas, omissa caede praedam sectantium, enisaeque
legiones vespascente die in aperta et solida. Neque
is miseriarum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger, 10
amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut
exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta
sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes
funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam
reliquum diem lamentabantur.

66. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore 1
territus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. Tanta 2
inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut
cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime
petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina 3
comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque
auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere
aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae
miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum
erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones falsum
pavorem esse docuerunt.

67. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta 1
cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet.
Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda
manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes
spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum:

2 illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent,
pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hos-
3 tium superesse; at victoribus decus gloriam. Quae
domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit
4 de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum
tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bel-
latori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

1 **68.** Haud minus inquires Germanus spe, cupidine
et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent
egredi egressosque rursum per umida et impedita cir-
cumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta
barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam ex-
pugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam
2 fore. Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates,
summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob
3 metum defixo. Postquam haesere munimentis, datur
cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere.
4 Exim clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circum-
funduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes,
5 sed aequis locis aequos deos. Hosti facile excidium et
paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor
armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur,
cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis
6 incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave
vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est,
7 donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae
legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum
egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in
victoria habuere.

1 **69.** Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama
et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni

Agrippina impositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina 2 ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bel- 3 lorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii 4 animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militum *studia* quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos 5 intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem iam 6 apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; compressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. Accendebat haec onerabatque 7 Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, 1 secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter 2 sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox impulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et 3 opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; 4 iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occurrant. Permiscuntur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo

5 disiecti aut obruti. Non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab imprudenti, consilia a casu differre: cuncta
6 pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis
7 circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe con-
8 tenderat. Impositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

1 **71.** Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et
2 filium eius in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia
3 Quintilii Vari corpus inclusisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum
4 offerentes. Quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia
5 militem iuvit. Utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibi et proelio firmabat.

1 **72.** Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico
2 gestas. Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta

mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. Non tamen ideo 3 faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem 4 de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. Hunc 5 quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

73. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, 1 modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat 2 accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuum Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum periurio numen 3 Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem soli- 4 tum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra

religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant.

5 Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

1 **74.** Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriae

2 temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, inquires, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepat, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum

3 sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque reo. Nam quia vera erant,

4 etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam.

5 Ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et

6 iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso 'Quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar? Si primus, habebo quod sequar: si post omnis, vereor

7 ne imprudens dissentiam.' Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad recipiendos itum est.


75. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis 1
adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli 2
depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et 3
potentium preces constituta. Sed dum veritati con- 4
sulitur, libertas corrumpatur. Inter quae Pius 5
Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque 6
aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum in- 7
vocabat. Resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit 8
Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae 9
per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu 10
retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri prae- 11
torio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens 12
sestertium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei 13
angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios probare cau- 14
sas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae 15
rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium et pauper- 16
tatem confessioni et beneficio praeponere. 17

76. Eodem anno continuis imbris auctus Tibe- 1
rius plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est 2
aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asi- 3
nius Gallus ut libri Sibullini adirentur. Renuit Tiberius, 4
perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium 5
coërcendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio man- 6
datum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis 7
levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Cae- 8
sari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici 9
fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, 10
quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod in 11
vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur 12
abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii 13
taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu con- 14

7 parationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

1 **77.** At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno
coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe,
sed militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae
cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem
2 vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres
dicebanturque sententiae, ut praetoribus ius virgarum
3 in histriones esset. Intercessit Haterius Agrippa tri-
bunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione,
silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui prae-
4 bebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus
immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat,
5 neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. De modo
lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decer-
nuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomi-
morum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum
equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro
sectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio mul-
tandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

1 **78.** Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur
Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in
2 omnes provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum vena-
lium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo
edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti;
simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicensimo
3 militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. Ita proximae
seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum
finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

79. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, 1
an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur
flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaque munici-
piorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis,
ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnun
transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret. Con- 2
gruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros
fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim
parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec 3
Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effun-
ditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erup-
tuum; optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam,
quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus utque originem,
ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum,
qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint:
quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orba- 4
tum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu 5
difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in senten-
tiam *Cn. Pisonis* concederetur, qui nil mutandum
censuerat. 

80. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, 1
additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum 2
Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem
vitae in isdem exercitiis aut iurisdictionibus habere.
Causae variae traduntur: alii taedio novae curae 3
semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia,
ne plures fruerentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum
eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium; neque enim
eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat:
ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum
metuebat. Qua haesitatione postremo eo proventus 4

est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

- 1 **81.** De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum
illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare
ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in
2 ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo subtractis candi-
datorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et
stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellexeretur; ali-
quando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos
hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id
3 curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se
professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset;
posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent:
speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque
maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura
ad infensius servitium.
- cf. Tacitus Ann. II - 47*

UNIV. C
CALIFORNI



THE DEIFICATION OF AUGUSTUS

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER II.

1. Sisenna Statilio [Tauro] L. Libone consulibus 1
mota Orientis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio
apud Parthos orto, qui petitem Roma acceptumque
regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum
aspernabantur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus
a Phraate. Nam Phraates quamquam depulisset 2
exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium
officia ad Augustum verterat partemque prolis firman-
dae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam
fidei popularium diffusus.

2. Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob 1
internas caedes venire in urbem legati a primoribus
Parthis, qui Vononem vetustissimum liberorum eius
accirent. Magnificum id sibi credidit Caesar auxitque 2
opibus. Et accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad
nova imperia. Mox subiit pudor degeneravisse Par- 3
thos: petitem alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus
infectum; iam inter provincias Romanas solium
Arsacidarum haberi darique. Ubi illam gloriam tru- 4

cidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si man-
cipium Caesaris, tot per annos servitutem perpassum,
5 Parthis imperitet? Accendebat dedignantibus et ipse
diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni
equorum cura; quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticae
6 gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas. Inridebantur
et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa.
Sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotae Parthis
virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena,
perinde odium pravis et honestis.

1 **3.** Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud
Dahas adultus excitur, primoque congressu fusus
2 reparat vires regnoque potitur. Victo Vononi per-
fugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc interque Parthorum
et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavas-
den regem Armeniorum specie amicitiae inlectum, dein
3 catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. Eius filius
Artaxias, memoria patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi
4 seque regnumque tutatus est. Occiso Artaxia per-
dolum propinquorum, datus a Caesare Armeniis Ti-
granes deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone.
5 Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit neque liberis
eius, quamquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium
regnumque.

1 **4.** Dein iussu Augusti impositus Artavasdes et non
2 sine clade nostra deiectus. Tum Gaius Caesar com-
ponendae Armeniae deligitur. Is Ariobarzanen, origine
Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et praeclarum
3 animum volentibus Armeniis praefecit. Ariobarzane
morte fortuita absumpto stirpem eius haud toleravere;
temptatoque feminae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque

brevi pulsa, incerti solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate profugum Vononen in regnum accipiunt. Sed ubi minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii 4 in Armeniis, vel, si nostra vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat, rector Syriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. Quod ludibrium ut effugere agitaverit 5 Vonones, in loco reddemus.

5. Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari 1 res Orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. At ille, quanto acriora in eum 2 studia militum et aversa patrum voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent. Fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, 3 iuvare silvis, paludibus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiis iterum, damno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. At 4 si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi; integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore.

6. Igitur huc intendit, missis ad census Galliarum 1 P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi praeponuntur. Mille naves sufficere 2 visae properataeque, aliae breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quae-

- dam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente
3 remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles, citae remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem.
- 4 Insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, ob faciles adpulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum
5 ad bellum opportuna. Nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur: ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens (verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt), mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.
- 1 **7.** Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu irruptionem in Chattos facere iubet: ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini adpositum
2 obsideri, sex legiones eo duxit. Neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actum quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae obsessores fecere, ad
3 famam adventus eius dilapsi: tumulum tamen nuper Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso
4 sitam disiecerant. Restituit aram honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum ite-
5 rare haud visum. Et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita.
- 1 **8.** Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso com-

meatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem, ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur. Classis Amisiae relictā laevo 2 amne, erratumque in eo, quod non subvexit *aut* transposuit militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpti. Et eques quidem ac 3 legiones prima aestuaria, nondum adcrecente unda, intrepidi transiere: postremum auxiliorum agmen Bata-vique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt. Metanti 4 castra Caesari Angrivariorum defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus ilico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est.

9. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque inter- 1 fluebat. Eius in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesitoque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum fratre conloqui oravit. Erat is in exercitu cognomento Flavus, insignis 2 fide et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. Tum permissum progressusque salutatur ab 3 Arminio; qui amotis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. Illo locum et proelium referente, quodnam praemium 4 recepisset exquirat. Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem 5 et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inidente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

10. Exim diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem 1

- Romanam, opes Caesaris et victis graves poenas, in deditionem venienti paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, libertatem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse
- 2 mallet. Paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius adcurrrens plenum irae armaeque et equum poscentem Flavum adtinuisset.
- 3 Cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.
- 1 **11.** Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. Caesar nisi pontibus praesidiisque impositis dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus,
- 2 equitem vado tramittit. Praefuere Stertinius et e numero primipilariū Aemilius, distantibus locis invecti,
- 3 ut hostem diducerent. Qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux Batavorum erupit. Eum Cherusci fugam simulantes in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere: dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus collectosque in orbem pars congressi, quidam
- 4 eminus proturbant. Chariovalda diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos inrumpens, congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa: ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertino Aemilioque subvenientes periculo exemere.
- 1 **12.** Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; conve-

nisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram ausuros-
que nocturnam castrorum oppugnationem. Habita 2
indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggestisque propius
speculatores audiri fremitum equorum immensique et
inconditi agminis murmur attulere. Igitur propinquo 3
summae rei discrimine explorandos militum animos
ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum
agitabat. Tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam 4
comperta nuntiare, libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis
inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quoque
quae pauci incipiant reliquos adstrepere. Penitus 5
noscendas mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter
militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent.

13. Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et 1
vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina
pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis fruitur-
que fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius,
plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria per iocos
eundem animum laudibus ferrent reddendamque gratiam
in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis
ultioni et gloriae mactandos. Inter quae unus hostium, 2
Latinae linguae sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna
coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur,
sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii
nomine pollicetur. Incendit ea contumelia legionum 3
iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem
Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen
et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare.
Tertia ferme vigilia adsultatum est castris sine coniectu 4
teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et
nihil remissum sensere.

1 **14.** Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit,
viditque se operatum et sanguine sacri respersa prae-
texta pulchriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae
2 accēpisse. Auctus omine, addicentibus auspiciis, vocat
contionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque imminenti
3 pugnae disserit. Non campos modo militi Romano ad
proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec
enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter
truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde
haberi quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina.
4 Denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaererent: non
loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro
nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et
fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hasta-
5 tam, ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela. Iam corpus ut visu
torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla
vulnerum patientia: sine pudore flagitii, sine cura
ducum abire, fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda
6 non divini, non humani iuris memores. Si taedio viarum
ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem
iam Albim quam Rhenum neque bellum ultra, modo se,
patris patriuique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris
victorem sisterent.

1 **15.** Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, sig-
2 numque pugnae datum. Nec Arminius aut ceteri
Germanorum procures omittebant suos quisque testari,
hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui
ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum
pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis
fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis
3 obiciant, nulla boni spe. Classem quippe et avia

Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. Meminissent modo 4 avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

16. Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, 1 cui Idisiaviso nomen, deducunt. Is medius inter Visur- 2 gim et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. Pone tergum 3 insurgebat silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos. Campum et prima silvarum barbara 4 acies tenuit: soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. Noster exercitus sic 5 incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. Intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret.

17. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae per ferociam 1 proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in tempore adfuturus. Interea 2 pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. Simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus 3 eques postremos ac latera impulit. Mirumque dictu, 4 duo hostium agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. Medii inter hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter 5

quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat
6 pugnam. Incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni
Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa
7 obiecissent. Nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi
pervasis, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur.
Quidam adgnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana
8 agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. Virtus seu fraus
eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit: ceteri passim truci-
dati. Et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta
tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et
9 incidentes ripae operuere. Quidam turpi fuga in
summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis
sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae
arbores adflixere.

1 **18.** Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit.
Quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia
passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis
inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non
2 dubio eventu portaverant. Miles in loco proelii Tiberium
imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum
tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nomini-
bus imposuit.

1 **19.** Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia
2 quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit. Qui modo abire se-
dibus, trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt,
arma rapiunt; plebes primores, iuventus senes agmen
3 Romanum repente incursant, turbant. Postremo deli-
gunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, arta intus planitie
et umida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi
quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant, quo
4 a Cheruscis dirimerentur. Hic pedes adstitit: equitem

propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus -
a tergo foret.

20. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia 1
locos, prompta occulta noverat astusque hostium in
perniciem ipsis vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit 2
equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut
pars aequo in silvam aditu incederet, pars obiectum
aggerem eniteretur; quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis
permisit. Quibus plana evenerant, facile inrupere: 3
quis impugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent,
gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. Sensit dux 4
imparem comminus pugnam remotisque paulum legioni-
bus funditores libritoresque excutere tela et proturbare
hostem iubet. Missae e tormentis hastae, quantoque 5
conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vulneri-
bus deiecti. Primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus 6
capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas; conlato illic
gradu certatum. Hostem a tergo palus, Romanos 7
flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas
in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

21. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed genere 1
pugnae et armorum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo
artis locis praelongas hastas non protenderet, non
colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate corporum
uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium; contra miles, cui
scutum pectori adpressum et insidens capulo manus,
latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet viamque
strage hostium aperiret, imprompto iam *Arminio* ob
continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus
tardaverat. Quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, 2
fortuna magis quam virtus deserebat. Et Germanicus 3

quo magis adgnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis, 4 solam internicionem gentis finem bello fore. Iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris: ceterae ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt. Equites ambigue certavere.

1 **22.** Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monimenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto 2 sacravisse. De se nihil addidit, metu invidiae an ratus 3 conscientiam facti satis esse. Mox bellum in Angri-varios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent. Atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam omnium acceperere.

1 **23.** Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere terrestri in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi 2 impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. Ac primo placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli: mox atro nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen impedire; milesque pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive 3 iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpibat. Omne dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui tumidis Germaniae terris, profundis annibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior rapuit disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas 4 saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas. Quibus paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris,

non exhaurire inrumpentis undas poterant: equi, iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur, quo leverentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superurgente.

24. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus et 1
truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades
novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum
litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novis-
simum ac sine terris mare. Pars navium haustae 2
sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae; milesque
nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos
corpora equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. Sola Ger- 3
manici triremis Chaucorum terram adpulit; quem per
omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis
oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere
amici quo minus eodem mari oppeteret. Tandem 4
relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro
remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus
tractae, revertere; quas raptim refectas misit, ut
scrutarentur insulas. Collecti ea cura plerique: multos 5
Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab inter-
rioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti et
remissi a regulis. Ut quis ex longinquo revererat, 6
miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres,
monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas,
visa sive ex metu credita.

25. Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad 1
spem belli, ita Caesarem ad coërcendum erexit. C. 2
Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire
in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos
inrumpit, quorum dux Mallovendus nuper in deditionem
acceptus propinquo luco defossam Varianae legionis

3 aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat. Missa ex-
templo manus, quae hostem a fronte eliceret, alii,
qui terga circumgressi recluderent humum; et utrisque
4 adfuit fortuna. Eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus,
populatur, excindit non ausum congredi hostem aut,
sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis, ut
5 ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. Quippe invictos
et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant,
qui perdita classe, amissis armis, post constrata equo-
rum virorumque corporibus litora eadem virtute, pari
ferocia et velut aucti numero inrupissent.

1 **26.** Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi,
quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pensavisset.
Addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis damni
2 professus erat, exsolvendo. Nec dubium habebatur
labare hostes petendaeque pacis consilia sumere, et si
3 proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum patrari. Sed
crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat rediret ad decretum
triumphum: satis iam eventuum, satis casuum. Pro-
spera illi et magna proelia: eorum quoque meminisset,
quae venti et fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen
et saeva damna intulissent. Se noviens a divo Augusto
in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse.
Sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suebos
regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum. Posse et
Cheruscus ceterasque rebellium gentes, quoniam Ro-
manae ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis
4 relinquere. Precante Germanico annum efficiendis coeptis,
acrius modestiam eius adgreditur alterum consulatum
5 offerendo, cuius munia praesens obiret. Simul adnecte-
bat, si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem

Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio hoste non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium et deportare lauream posset. Haud cunctatus est ultra 6 Germanicus, quamquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi intellegeret.

27. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo 1 Drusus defertur moliri res novas. Eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senator, ex intima Libonis amicitia, 2 iuvenem improvidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit, dum proavum Pompeium, amatam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indicii inligaret.

28. Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent 1 repperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Romanum, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Caesar 2 indicium haud aspernatus congressus abnuit: posse enim eodem Flacco internuntio sermones commeare. Atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus 3 adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram condiderat); cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidum- 4 que famae malae. Statim corripit reum, adit consules,

5 cognitionem senatus poscit. Et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

1 **29.** Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus
feminis circumire domos, orare adfines, vocem adversum
pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa
2 praetenderent, eadem formidine. Die senatus metu et
aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato
morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisusque fratri
et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens
immoto eius vultu excipitur. Mox libellos et auctores
recitat Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare
crimina videretur.

1 **30.** Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusa-
tores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui
ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec
ipsi inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset,
singillatim se crimina obiecturum professus, protulit
libellos vaecordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo, an habi-
turus foret opes, quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque
2 pecunia operiret. Inerant et alia huiusce modi stolidi
vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. Uno tamen
libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum
additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat.
3 Negante reo adgnoscentes servos per tormenta in-
terrogari placuit. Et quia vetere senatus consulto
quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et
novi iuris repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori
publico iubet, scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo
4 senatus consulto quaereretur. Ob quae posterum diem
reus petivit domumque digressus extremas preces
P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit.

31. Responsum est ut senatum rogaret. Cinge- 1
batur interim milite domus, strepebant etiam in vesti-
bulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum Libo ipsis quas
in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat epulis excrucia-
tus vocare percussorem, prensare servorum dextras,
inserere gladium. Atque illis, dum trepidant, dum 2
refugiunt, evertentibus adpositum *in* mensa lumen,
feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit.
Ad gemitum conlabentis adcurrere liberti, et caede 3
visa miles abstinit. Accusatio tamen apud patres 4
adseveratione eadem peracta, iuravitque Tiberius peti-
tuum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam
mortem properavisset.

32. Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et prae- 1
turae extra ordinem datae iis qui senatorii ordinis
erant. Tunc Cotta Messalinus, ne imago Libonis 2
exsequias posterorum comitaretur, censuit, Cn. Lentu-
lus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi adsumeret.
Supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia con- 3
stituti. Dona Iovi, Marti, Concordiae, utque iduum 4
Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies
festus haberetur, L. Piso et Gallus Asinius et Papius
Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates
adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id in re pub-
lica malum. Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia 5
pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L.
Pituanus saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules
extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere
iussissent, more prisco advertere.

33. Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis 1
dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura

- functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis
2 cibus fierent, ne vestis serica viros foedaret. Excessit
Fronto ac postulavit modum argento, supellectili,
familiae: erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si
quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae premere.
- 3 Contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adole-
visse etiam privatas opes, idque non novum, sed e
vetustissimis moribus: aliam apud Fabricios, aliam
apud Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam
referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo
4 magnificentiae venerit, gliscere singulos. Neque in
familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nimium
5 aliquid aut modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. Di-
stinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi
natura, sed, ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antissent,
ita iis, quae ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum
parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas,
maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis curarum et
6 periculorum carendum esse. Facilem adsensum Gallo
sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo
audientium dedit. Adiecerat et Tiberius non id tem-
pus censurae nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum
corrigendi auctorem.
- 1 **34.** Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta
iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium
increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo
abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam
2 relinquebat. Commotus est Tiberius, et quamquam
mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quo-
que eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus
3 tenerent. Haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem

Piso mox dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra
leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. Nec aut Urgulania 4
obtemperavit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pisonem vecta,
aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et
imminui quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri 5
civile ratus, ut se iturum ad praetoris tribunal, adfutu-
rum Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi
iussis militibus. Spectabatur occursante populo com- 6
positus ore et sermonibus variis tempus atque iter
ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coërcentibus
deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet.
Isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar 7
maiore fama fuit. Ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo 8
nimia civitati erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quae
apud senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus
est praetor, qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales
in foro et iudicio audiri, quotiens testimonium dicerent,
vetus mos fuerit.

35. Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pre- 1
tium foret Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio
diversas sententias noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum 2
se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut
absente principe senatum et equites posse sua munia
sustinere decorum rei publicae foret. Gallus, quia spe- 3
ciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil satis inlustre aut
ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis
Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et affluentis pro-
vincias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. Audiente 4
haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus
acta, sed res dilatae.

36. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum 1

est. Nam censuit in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda, utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, iam tum praetores destinarentur, princeps duodecim candidatos in annos
2 singulos nominaret. Haud dubium erat eam sententiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit: grave
3 moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differre. Vix per singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis, qui ultra quinquennium proiciantur? Unde prospici posse quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus,
4 fortuna? Superbire homines etiam annua designatione:
5 quid si honorem per quinquennium agitent? Quin-
quuplicari prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum industriae quaerendis-
que aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. Favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

1 **37.** Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. Quo magis mirum fuit, quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis, in paupertate manifesta superbius accepisset.
2 Nepos erat oratoris Hortensii, inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate deciens sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere
3 liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingeretur. Igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti
4 intuens, ad hunc modum coepit: 'Patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat; simul
5 maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. Nam ego,

qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuiquam oneri forent. Iussus 6 ab imperatore uxorem duxi. En stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. Nec ad invidiam ista, sed conciliandae misericordiae refero. Adsequentur florente 7 te, Caesar, quos dederis honores: interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.'

38. Inclinator senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit 1 quo promptius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: 'Si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis 2 petere pecunias coeperint, singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. Nec sane ideo a maioribus 3 concessum est egredi aliquando relationem et quod in commune conducatur loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. Non enim preces sunt istud, sed 4 efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et improvisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum suorum arguere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me transmittere ac velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit. Dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus 5 pecuniam, sed non compellatus nec ea lege, ut semper daretur. Languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi omnes 6 aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.' Haec atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab iis, 7 quibus omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta,

laudare mos est, plures per silentium aut occultum
8 murmur excepere. Sensitque Tiberius; et cum paulum
reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait: ceterum si
patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena sestertia
9 singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. Egere alii grates:
siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam
10 inter angustias fortunae retinens. Neque miseratus
est posthac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam
ad inopiam delaberetur.

1 **39.** Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni
mature subventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus
2 rem publicam perculisset. Postumi Agrippae servus,
nomine Clemens, conperto fine Augusti pergere in
insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi raptum Agrippam
ferre ad exercitus Germanicos non servili animo conce-
3 pit. Ausa eius impedivit tarditas onerariae navis: atque
interim patrata caede ad maiora et magis praecipitia
conversus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam Etruriae
promunturium ignotis locis sese abdit, donec crinem
barbamque promitteret: nam aetate et forma haud
4 dissimili in dominum erat. Tum per idoneos et secreti
eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum
sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud
imperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut rursum
5 apud turbidos eoque nova cupientes. Atque ipse
adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propalam aspici
neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas visu et mora,
falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat
famam aut praeveniebat.

1 **40.** Vulgabatur interim per Italiam servatum
munere deum Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque

Ostiam invectum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coërceret an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret: modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda 2 ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat. Postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. Ille e clientibus duos 3 (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur. Exsequuntur ut iussum 4 erat. Dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta idonea manu, vinctum clauso ore in Palatium traxere. Percontanti Tiberio, quomodo Agrippa factus esset, 5 respondisse fertur 'Quo modo tu Caesar.' Ut ederet socios subigi non potuit. Nec Tiberius poenam eius 6 palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. Et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

41. Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob 1 recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis, quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.

C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar 2 a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt. Vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum; bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur. Augebat 4

intuentium visus eximia ipsius species currusque
5 quinque liberis onustus. Sed suberat occulta formido,
reputantibus haud prosperum in Druso patre eius
favorem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagran-
tibus plebis studiis intra iuventam ereptum, breves et
infaustos populi Romani amores.

- 1 **42.** Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos
plebi sestertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui
eius destinavit. Nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem
adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxit-
2 que causas aut forte oblatas arripuit. Rex Archelaus
quingensimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, in-
visus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio
3 coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat,
sed ab intimis Augusti monitus, quia florente Gaio
Caesare missoque ad res Orientis intuta Tiberii amici-
4 tia credebatur. Ut versa Caesarum subole imperium
adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non
dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat,
5 si ad precandum veniret. Ille ignarus doli vel, si
intellegere crederetur, vim metuens in urbem properat;
exceptusque immiti a principe et mox accusatus in
senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur, sed angore,
simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima
insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit.
6 Regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque
eius levari posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar
7 ducentessimam in posterum statuit. Per idem tempus
Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus
defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum,
aliis regum imperium cupientibus; et provinciae

Suria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

43. Igitur haec et de Armenia quae supra memoravi 1
apud patres disseruit, nec posse motum Orientem nisi
Germanici sapientia componi: nam suam aetatem
vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. Tunc decreto 2
patrum permissae Germanico provinciae, quae mari
dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam
iis, qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. Sed 3
Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum Silanum, per
adfinitatem conexum Germanico, quia Silani filia
Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat, prae-
feceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obsequii
ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello
resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus
Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, con-
cesso reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro
ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere.
Sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae 4
nobilitate et opibus accendebatur; vix Tiberio con-
cedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. Nec
dubium habebat se delectum, qui Suriae imponeretur
ad spes Germanici coërcendas. Credidere quidam data 5
et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud
dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrip-
pinam insectandi. Divisa namque et discors aula erat
tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius 6
ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat: Ger-
manico alienatio patruī amorem apud ceteros auxerat,
et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M.
Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso 7

proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur: et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecelebat. Sed fratres egregie concordēs et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

- 1 **44.** Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tutiorem rebatur utroque
2 filio legiones obtinente. Sed Suebi praetendebantur auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine
3 et tum aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. Vis nationum, virtus ducum in aequo; sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium, pro libertate bellantem favor habebat.

- 1 **45.** Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpserē bellum, sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi,
2 defecere ad eum. Quibus additis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam, quam quia fratris
3 filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. Deri-guntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.
4 Ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum

appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum, quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. Meminissent modo tot pro- 5 eliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.

46. Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in 1 hostem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum tenens illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur: vaecordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vagas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius servitium adhuc tolerant. At se duodecim legionibus petitem 2 duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. His vocibus 3 instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur. Non alias maiore mole concursum neque 4 ambiguo magis eventu, fuis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. Id signum percussi fuit; et 5 transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. Re- 6 sponsum est non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma

Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. Missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

- 1 ✕ **47.** Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo improvisior
- 2 graviorque pestis fuit. Neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. Sedisse immensos montes, visa in arduo quae plana fuerint, effulsisse inter ruinam
- 3 ignes memorant. Asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centiens sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut
- 4 fisco pendebant, in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum levare idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit, qui praesentia
- 5 spectaret refoveretque. Delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.
- 1 ✕ **48.** Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cuius e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Romani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuvandam praefatus.
- 2 Neque hereditatem cuiusquam adiit nisi cum amicitia meruisset: ignotos et aliis infensos eoque principem

nuncupantes procul arcebat. Ceterum ut honestam 3
innocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob
flagitia egentes, Vibidium Virronem, Marium Nepotem,
Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium
movit senatu aut sponte cedere passus est.

49. Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut 1
igni abolitas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero
Liberaeque et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A.
Postumius dictator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem
Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitu-
tam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holitorium
C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere
mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit.
Spei aedes a Germanico sacratur: hanc A. Atilius 2
voverat eodem bello.

50. Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. Et Ap- 1
puleiam Varillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probro-
sis sermonibus divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem
eius inlusisset Caesarique conexa adulterio teneretur,
maiestatis delator arcessebat. De adulterio satis caveri 2
lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distingui Caesar
postulavit damnarique, si qua de Augusto inreligiose
dixisset: in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. In- 3
terrogatus a consule, quid de iis censeret, quae de matre
eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo
senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba
in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. Libe- 4
ravitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii gravio- 5
rem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis
suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit.
Adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

1 **51.** De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem
2 mors abstulerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant: contra plerique nitebantur, ut numerus liberorum in
3 candidatis praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. Laetabatur Tiberius, cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret. Victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo etiam, cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

1 **52.** Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce
2 hostium Tacfarinate. Is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritis, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae,
3 sed Musulamiorum dux haberi. Valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africae propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum
4 traxit: dux et his, Mazippa. Divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplinae et imperiis suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et
5 terrorem circumferret. Compulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africae legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares; sed nihil aequè cavebatur quam
6 ut vincerentur. Igitur legio medio, leves cohortes

duaeque alae in cornibus locantur. Nec Tacfarinas 7
pugnam detrectavit. Fusi Numidae, multosque post
annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. Nam 8
post illum recipitorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum
penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque
hic, quem memoramus, bellorum expers habebatur.
Eo pronior Tiberius res gestas apud senatum cele- 9
bravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod
Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

53. Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum 1
iterum consules habuit. Sed eum honorem Germanicus
iniit apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per
Illyricam oram viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agente,
Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem
perpessus. Igitur paucos dies insumpsit reficiendae 2
classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas
ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recorda-
tione maiorum suorum adiit. Namque ei, ut memoravi, 3
avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaue
illic imago tristium laetorumque. Hinc ventum Athe-
nas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum, ut uno
lictore uteretur. Excepere Graeci quaesitissimis honori- 4
bus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo
plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

54. Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi 1
Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. Tum extrema 2
Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes,
mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat,
cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi;
pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magi-
stratum iniuriis fessas refovebat. Atque illum in 3

- regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem obvii
aquilones depulere. Igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi
varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit
Asiam adpellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis
4 oraculo uteretur. Non femina illic, ut apud Delphos,
sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos
numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum
in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus
plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versi-
bus compositis super rebus, quas quis mente concepit.
5 Et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis,
maturum exitium cecinisse.
- 1 **55.** At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata
inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu
exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germani-
cum perstringens, quod contra decus Romani nominis
non Athenienses tot cladibus extinctos, sed conluviem
illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset; hos enim
esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus
2 divum Augustum socios. Etiam vetera obiectabat,
quae in Macedones improspere, violenter in suos
fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theo-
philum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damnatum precibus
3 suis non concederent. Exim navigatione celeri per
Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum
apud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insecta-
tionibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat,
ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta possetque
interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis,
4 quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. Neque tamen
mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpressus linquit

Germanicum praevenitque. Et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit, largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem sineret, eo usque corruptionis proventus est, ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. Nec Plancina se 5 intra decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat. Nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios 6 instantior cura fuit.

56. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis 1 et situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. Regem illa 2 tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, procures plebemque iuxta devinxerat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata adprobantibus 3 nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne regum capiti eius imposuit. Ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. At Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti 4 Q. Veranium legatum acceperere; et quaedam ex regiis

tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium
5 speraretur. Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum
primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

1 **57.** Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non
ideo laetum. Germanicum habebant ob superbiam
Pisonis, qui iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium
2 in Armeniam ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrrhi
demum apud hiberna decumae legionis convenere,
firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne
3 minari crederetur; et erat, ut rettuli, clementior. Sed
amici accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera,
adgerere falsa ipsumque et Plancinam et filios variis
4 modis criminari. Postremo paucis familiarium adhi-
bitis sermo coeptus a Caesare, qualem ira et dissimulatio
gignit, responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus; dis-
cesseruntque apertis odiis. Post quae rarus in tribunali
Caesaris Piso, et si quando adsideret, atrox ac dissentire
5 manifestus. Vox quoque eius audita est in convivio,
cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno
pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris
offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas
epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum
addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba toleraban-
tur tamen.

1 **58.** Inter quae ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati
venere. Miserat amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos,
et cupere renovari dextras, daturumque honori Ger-
manici, ut ripam Euphratis accederet: petere interim,
ne Vonones in Suria haberetur neu proceres gentium
2 propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. Ad ea
Germanicus de societate Romanorum Parthorumque

magnifice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim, Ciliciae 3 maritimam urbem, amotus est. Datum id non modo precibus Artabani, sed contumeliae Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

59. M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus 1 Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. Sed 2 cura provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu 3 habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introisset. Nam Augustus inter 4 alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgueret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.

60. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profec- 1 tionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. Condidere id Spartani ob sepultum illic 2 rectorem navis Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus est. Inde proximum amnis os dicatum 3 Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum eius adscitos; mox visit veterum

- 4 Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litterae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae: iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythia potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse.
- 5 Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.
- 1 **61.** Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et vix pervias arenas instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo,
- 2 nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.
- 1 **62.** Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam
- 2 Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. Erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem

ausus. Is valida manu fines Marcomanorum ingreditur 3
corruptisque primoribus ad societatem inrumpit regiam
castellumque iuxta situm. Veteres illic Sueborum 4
praedae et nostris e provinciis lixae ac negotiatores
reperi, quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecu-
niam, postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab
sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat.

63. Maroboduus undique deserto non aliud subsid- 1
ium quam misericordia Caesaris fuit. Transgressus
Danuvium, qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit
Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria
prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum
quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam
praetulisse. Responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratam- 2
que sedem in Italia fore, si maneret: sin rebus eius
aliud conducirer, abiturum fide qua venisset. Ceterum 3
apud senatum disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus,
non Pyrrum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde
metuendos fuisse. Extat oratio, qua magnitudinem 4
viri, violentiam subiectarum ei gentium et quam pro-
pinquus Italiae hostis, suaque in destruendo eo consilia
extulit. Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, 5
si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum
ostentabatur: sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti
annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob
nimiam vivendi cupidinem. Idem Catualdae casus 6
neque aliud perfugium. Pulsus haud multo post 7
Hermundurorum opibus et Vibilio duce receptusque,
Forum Iulium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam, mittitur.
Barbari utrumque comitati, ne quietas provincias
immixti turbarent, Danuvium ultra inter flumina

Marum et Cusum locantur, dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.

1 **64.** Simul nuntiato regem Artaxian Armeniis a
Germanico datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus
2 atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. Structi et
arcus circum latera templi Martis Ultoris cum effigie
Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia
firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset.
3 Igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu
adgreditur. Omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuer-
rat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhes-
4 cuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea
divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod
incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit:
ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic
5 atrox, avidum et societatis impatiens erat. Sed primo
subdola concordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi
fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere,
cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque
6 regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero
audita mutatione principis immittere latronum globos,
excindere castella, causas bello.

1 **65.** Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam
ne composita turbarentur. Deligit centurionem, qui
nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent; statimque a
2 Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia. Rhescu-
poris ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum coiretur:
3 posse de controversiis conloquio transigi. Nec diu
dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein condicionibus, cum
alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent
4 acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat,

foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium 5 structas sibi insidias, praevenit insidiatorem; simul bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum copiis sese firmabat. Mol- 6 liter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam discreturos: proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

66. Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa pro praetore 1 Moesiae cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraeciam misit. Rhescuporis inter metum et iram 2 cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn iubet mortemque sponte sumptam ementitur. Nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artis 3 mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodat-
torem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit.

67. Flaccus in Thraeciam transgressus per ingentia 1 promissa quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpulit ut praesidia Romana intraret. Circumdata 2 hinc regi specie honoris valida manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. Accusatus in senatu ab 3 uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno teneretur. Thraecia in Rhoemetalcen filium, quem paternis con- 4

siliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur; iisque nondum adultis Trebellenus Rufus praetura functus datur, qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in
5 Aegyptum miserant. Rhescuporis Alexandriam devec-
tus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur.

1 **68.** Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in
Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad
Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum
2 sibi regem Scytharum conatus est. Specie venandi
omissis maritimis locis avia saltuum petiit, mox perni-
citate equi ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes
accolae ruperant audita regis fuga, neque vado pene-
3 trari poterat. Igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone
praefecto equitum vincitur, mox Remmius evocatus,
priori custodiae regis adpositus, quasi per iram gladio
4 eum transigit. Unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et
metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.

1 **69.** At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta,
quae apud legiones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in
2 contrarium versa cognoscit. Hinc graves in Pisonem
contumeliae, nec minus acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem
3 intentabantur. Dein Piso abire Suria statuit. Mox
adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum
accepit votaue pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas
hostias, sacrificalem apparatus, festam Antiochensium
4 plebem per lictores proturbat. Tum Seleuciam de-
greditur, opperiens aegritudinem, quae rursum Ger-
5 manico acciderat. Saevam vim morbi augebat persua-
sio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac

parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. Simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.

70. Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per 1 metum accepta. Si limen obsideretur, si effundendus 2 spiritus sub oculis inimicorum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus liberis eventurum? Lenta videri veneficia: festinare et urguere, ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. Sed non usque eo defec- 3 tum Germanicum, neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura. Componit epistulas, quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat: addunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. Nec Piso moratus ultra navis solvit, mode- 4 rabaturque cursui, quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

71. Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso 1 corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum adloquitur: 'Si fato concederem, iustus mihi 2 dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuventam praematurato exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus 3 ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo: referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. Si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, 4 etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. Erit vobis locus querendi

5 apud senatum, invocandi leges. Non hoc praecipuum
amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo
questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit
6 exsequi. Flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindica-
bitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis.
Ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eandem-
7 que coniugem meam, numerate sex liberos. Miseri-
cordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibusque scelesta
mandata aut non credent homines aut non ignoscent.’
8 Iuravere amici, dextram morientis contingentes, spiri-
tum ante quam ultionem amissuros.

1 **72.** Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per
communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti
fortunaе submitteret animum, neu regressa in urbem
2 aemulatione potentiae validiores inritaret. Haec palam
et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum
ex Tiberio. Neque multo post extinguitur, ingenti
3 luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. In-
doluere exterae nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in
socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta
venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae
fortunaе retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat.

1 **73.** Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac
2 memoriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. Et erant qui
formam, aetatem, genus mortis ob propinquitatem
etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis
3 adaequarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere
insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum
insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem
erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio,
certis liberis egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam

si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit perculsas tot
victoriis Germanias servitio premere. Quod si solus 4
arbitr^r rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto
promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum
clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitis-
set. Corpus antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro 5
Antiochensium, qui locus sepulturae destinabatur,
praetuleritne veneficii signa, parum constitit; nam ut 6
quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspi-
cione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpre-
tabantur.

74. Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii 1
senatorum aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. Et
ceteris modice nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn.
Sentium diu quaesitum: dein Marsus seniori et acrius
tendenti Sentio concessit. Isque infamem veneficiis 2
ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram nomine Marti-
nam in urbem misit,ulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio
ceterisque, qui crimina et accusationem tamquam
adversus receptos iam reos instruebant.

75. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et 1
corpore aegro, omnium tamen quae ultionem mora-
rentur intolerans, ascendit classem cum cineribus
Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis, quod femina
nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio
inter venerantis gratantisque aspici solita, tunc feralis
reliquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui et in-
felici fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia. Pisonem 2
interim apud Coum insulam nuntius adsequitur exces-
sisse Germanicum. Quo intemperanter accepto caedit 3
victimas, adit templa, neque ipse gaudium moderans

et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit.

1 **76.** Adfluebant centuriones monebantque prompta
illi legionum studia: repeteret provinciam non iure
2 ablatam et vacuam. Igitur quid agendum consultanti
M. Piso filius properandum in urbem censebat: nihil
adhuc inexpiabile admissum, neque suspensiones imbe-
3 cillas aut inania famae pertimescenda. Discordiam
erga Germanicum odio fortasse dignam, non poena;
4 et ademptione provinciae satis factum inimicis. Quod
si regrederetur, obsistente Sentio civile bellum incipi;
nec duraturos in partibus centuriones militesque, apud
quos recens imperatoris sui memoria et penitus infixus
in Caesares amor praevaleret.

1 **77.** Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia,
disseruit utendum eventu: Pisonem, non Sentium Suriae
praepositum; huic fascis et ius praetoris, huic legiones
2 datas. Si quid hostile ingruat, quem iustius arma
oppositurum, *quam* qui legati auctoritatem et propria
3 mandata acceperit? Relinquendum etiam rumoribus
tempus, quo senescant: plerumque innocentes recenti
4 invidiae inpaes. At si teneat exercitum, augeat vires,
multa, quae provideri non possint, fortuito in melius
5 casura. 'An festinamus cum Germanici cineribus ad-
pellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippi-
6 nae ac vulgus imperitum primo rumore rapiant? Est
tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in
occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent
quam qui maxime laetantur.'

1 **78.** Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus,
in sententiam trahitur missisque ad Tiberium epistulis

incusat Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefieret, curam exercitus eadem fide qua tenuerit repetivisse. Simul Domitium impositum triremi vitare litorum oram praeterque insulas lato mari pergere in Suriam iubet. Concurrentes 2 desertores per manipulos componit, armat lixas traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxilium iuvarent scribit, haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset.

79. Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphylicae praelegentes, 1 obviis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expedire: dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam causam veniret. Ille eludens respondit adfuturum, ubi praetor, qui de 2 beneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset. Interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae adpulsus, cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenitur. Id Sentius Pisoni per litteras 4 aperit monetque ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. Quosque Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos cognoverat, contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam.

80. Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, 1 omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirone nuper intercepto 2 suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia Cilicum, quae

reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat.
3 Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is
dedisset, arceri, non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu
venire), sed a Sentio privatum odium falsis criminibus
4 tegente. Consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus,
ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si
iure ageretur, potiozem, si armis, non invalidum vi-
5 dissent. Tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos
explicat, colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari
6 cinguntur. Contra veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis
instructi: hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas, sed
non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem nisi agrestia
7 aut subitum *in* usum properata. Ut venere in manus,
non ultra dubitatum, quam dum Romanae cohortes in
aequum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque
castello claudunt.

1 **81.** Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem
adpugnare frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris,
modo semet adflitando, modo singulos nomine ciens,
praemiis vocans, seditionem coeptabat, adeoque com-
moverat, ut signifer legionis sextae signum ad eum
2 transtulerit. Tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque
et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum
quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas saxa et
3 faces ingerere. Tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit,
ut traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar, cui
4 Suriam permetteret, consulitur. Non receptae condi-
ciones, nec aliud quam naves et tutum in urbem iter
concessum est.

1 **82.** At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo
percrebruit cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius

adferebantur, dolor ira: et erumpebant questus. Ideo 2
nimirum in extremas terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni
permissam provinciam; hoc egisse secretos Augustae
cum Plancina sermones. Vera prorsus de Druso 3
seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum
ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum
Romanum aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agi-
taverint. Hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo 4
incendit, ut ante edictum magistratum, ante senatus
consultum sumpto iustitio desererentur fora, clauderen-
tur domus. Passim silentia et gemitus, nihil composi- 5
tum in ostentationem; et quamquam neque insignibus
lulentium abstinerent, altius animis maerebant. Forte 6
negotiatores, vivente adhuc Germanico Suria egressi,
laetiora de valetudine eius attulere. Statim credita, 7
statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obviis, quamvis le-
viter audita in alios atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio
transferunt. Cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum 8
fores; iuvat credulitatem nox et promptior inter
tenebras adfirmatio. Nec obstitit falsis Tiberius,
donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent: et populus
quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

83. Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut 1
ingenio validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius 2
Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum
Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae sta-
tuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret, neve
quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis
Iuliae crearetur. Arcus additi Romae et apud ripam 3
Rheni et in monte Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione
rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse.

Sepulchrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve, in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum
4 inierit. Cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, adseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis inlustre, si
5 veteres inter scriptores haberetur. Equester ordo cuneum Germanici appellavit, qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliis imaginem eius sequerentur. Pleraque manent: quaedam statim ommissa sunt aut vetustas obliteravit.

1 **84.** Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa
2 est. Quod rarum laetumque etiam modicis penetibus tanto gaudio principem adfecit, ut non temperaverit quin iactaret apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam: nam
3 cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. Sed populo tali in tempore id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgueret.

1 **85.** Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido
feminarum coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus
2 fuisset. Nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in
3 ipsa professione flagitii credebant. Exactum et a Titidio Labeone, Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore delicti
4 manifesta ultionem legis omisisset. Atque illo praeten-

dente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere; eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est. Actum et de sacris 5 Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coërcendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.

86. Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam virginem 1 in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in rem publicam certarent. Praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud quam quod 2 mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. Et Caesar quamvis posthabitam deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

87. Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit 1 frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. Neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum 2 et antea vocabulum adsumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88. Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorum- 1 dem temporum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed

palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos
2 ulcisci. Qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis impe-
ratoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrum regem vetuerant
3 prodiderantque. Ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Ro-
manis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans libertatem
popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum
varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit:
liberator haud dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia
populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissi-
mum imperium laccessierit, proeliis ambiguus, bello
4 non victus. Septem et triginta annos vitae, duodecim
potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras apud
gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum
mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera
extollimus recentium incuriosi.

NOTES.

ANNALS, BOOK I.

1. 1. Urbem . . . habuere: these opening words are arranged in the form of an hexameter, after the manner of the preface to Livy's history. Quintilian (Inst. Orat. 9. 4. 74) tells us that this practice was generally condemned in prose by the rhetoricians, but that in the opening sentence in Livy no word could be changed without weakening the force of the sentence. Cf. 3. 44. 4, *compererat modicā esse et vulgatis leviora*; 15. 9. 1, *subiectis campis magna specie volitabant*; etc. — **consulatum:** the consulship was created after the expulsion of the kings and upon the establishment of the republic, B.C. 509. The expression *libertatem et consulatum* is here employed to signify the period of Roman history from B.C. 509 to the principate of Augustus, B.C. 27. — **L. Brutus:** the well-known Lucius Junius Brutus.

2. Dictaturae: Tacitus makes sparing use of the plural of abstract terms as here. — **ad tempus:** the tenure of the dictatorship was limited to six months, and the office was created to meet a special emergency or crisis. Cf. 4. 19. 1. — **ultra biennium:** the decemvirs were in office, as a matter of fact, more than two years, viz., from 15 May, B.C. 451, to 13 December, 449. — **consulare ius:** the first mention of military tribunes with consular powers occurs in the year B.C. 445, from which date to the year 408 they had no fixed succession. But from 408 to B.C. 367 the military tribunes were elected in an almost unbroken succession.

3. Cinnae: L. Cornelius Cinna was consul four successive terms, B.C. 87 to 84. — **Sullae:** L. Cornelius Sulla, the hero of the Mithradatic war, who overthrew the power of Marius and made himself supreme in the republic as perpetual dictator, B.C. 82. — **dominatio:**

here used to signify the despotic power of Cinna and Sulla in contrast with the political ascendancy of Pompey and Crassus (the first triumvirate) and the military power (*arma*) of the second triumvirate, on the one hand, and on the other, with the constitutional power (*potestas*) of the decemvirs and the constitutional right (*ius*) of the military tribunes and the legally recognized authority (*imperium*) of the empire. The first triumvirate was merely a political coalition formed by Pompey, Crassus and Caesar, without legal sanction; but the second triumvirate reposed on a legitimate basis, being a commission established by statute, for five years from November, B.C. 43. — **Pompei Crassique**: the famous historical characters. — **Caesarem**: Caius Julius Caesar. — **Lepidi atque Antonii**: two noted members of the second triumvirate. — **nomine principis**: the official dignity of Augustus to which he was appointed by the senate, B.C. 27.

4. **claris scriptoribus**: Tacitus makes free use of this dative of agency, which he does not restrict to the perfect participle, or gerundive, employing it with any form of the verb. Cf. Quint. 1. 8. 18, *claris auctoribus memoratas*. See Introd. § 15. — **temporibus**: dative after *defuere*. See Introd. § 16. — **deterrentur**: note the subjunctive of fact with *donec*. See Introd. § 34 (c); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 169.

5. **Tiberii**, etc.: the emperors whose reigns are embraced in the *Annals*, the first two being of the Julian and the last two of the Claudian family. Cf. Hist. 2. 76, *nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio donum*. — **que . . . et . . . ac**: Tacitus shows a fondness for such a variation of conjunctions (see Introd. § 41 (b)), here especially employed to combine the Julian and Claudian Caesars in pairs. — **falsae**: which had been rendered false; attributive to *res*.

6. **pauca**: a few events only, the greater part of Augustus's reign having been already treated by other historians. — **et extrema**: and those, too, the closing events; *et* here adds something important. — **cetera**: the events down to the death of Nero, since the subsequent events had already been described in the *Histories*, which begin at the death of that emperor in the year A.D. 69.

2. 1. **Bruto et Cassio**: as is well known, Brutus and Cassius

committed suicide after their defeat at Philippi, B.C. 42, which marked the formal end of the republic (*nulla iam publica arma*). — **Pompeius**: Sextus Pompey, son of Gnaeus, who was defeated in the naval battle at Mylae, near Sicily (*apud Siciliam*), in the year B.C. 36, and executed somewhat later. — **Lepido**: Lepidus was allowed to live in retirement as *pontifex maximus* and he died a natural death, B.C. 12. — **Antonio**: Mark Antony took his own life, B.C. 30, the year after his defeat off Actium. Consequently the Caesarean party (*Iulianis partibus*) was now reduced to one leader only, viz., Octavius. — **Caesar**: Gaius Octavius, adopted by his great-uncle Julius Caesar, took his name, but in his own time was called Gaius Caesar simply. To posterity he was known as Octavius, or Augustus, a surname bestowed upon him after B.C. 29. — **posito triumviri nomine**: Augustus was triumvir from 42 to B.C. 33 and consul from 31 to B.C. 23. It follows then that he was invested with no legal authority during the year B.C. 32, unless it be as triumvir. According to Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 873), Augustus continued to act as triumvir even after the expiration of his second term. It appears that Tacitus must be here speaking of the tribunician power at an earlier date than that of B.C. 23, when it was assumed as a title. — **consulem se ferens**: it would seem from this that Augustus affected a certain degree of pride in retaining the office of consul as a surviving tradition of the republic. At all events, his consulships and his tribunician power from B.C. 23 appear in his list of titles, but he does not include his *proconsulare imperium* and his principate. — **tribunicio iure**: the tribunician authority was conferred upon Augustus in B.C. 36. By virtue of this office his person was rendered sacrosanct and he became the formal representative of the common people as well as their defender (*ad tuendam plebem*). — **donis**: bounties including land as well as money which the emperor bestowed. The land bounties included twenty-eight military colonies which he planted in Italy, besides others in the provinces, as enumerated (in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* 5. 35). In money he bestowed 1,000 sesterces apiece upon 125,000 veterans in B.C. 29 (Mon. Anc. 3. 17). — **annona**: by the *lex frumentaria* of G. Gracchus each Roman citizen resident in Rome was entitled to a monthly allowance of five *modii* of corn from the state at half price, or thereabout. The number of beneficiaries was limited by Caesar

to 150,000, but was increased by Augustus to over 200,000. **Fur-**neaux takes this as referring, not to the regular corn dole, but to the emperor's careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity (Suet., Aug. 41). He mentions twelve such distributions of corn gratuities made in the year B.C. 23. See Mon. Anc. 3. 7-11, *Consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum*. — **legum**: through his orders and edicts as magistrate. (Note the asyndeton.) Cf. 11. 5, *cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens*. — **trahere**: historical infinitive as *insurgere* above, forming the principal verbs in this long and involved sentence. See Introd. § 32 (c). Augustus gradually took over more and more of the senatorial, magisterial and legislative functions in extending his own powers. — **ferocissimi**: *the boldest men*; here employed in a good sense. — **per acies aut proscriptione**: *in battle or by proscription* (i.e., in the second triumvirate). Tacitus especially avoids parallelism of construction, as here. See Introd. § 36 (d) and § 41. Cf. 1. 64. 8, *dextro lateri . . . in laevum*; 2. 64. 2, *quam si bellum per acies confecisset*. — **quanto**: note the omission of the correlative *tanto magis* (see Introd. § 37 (c)). — **servitio**: dative with *promptior* instead of the more regular *ad servitium* (Introd. § 19). Cf. 1. 48. 3, *seditioni promptum*; 4. 46. 4, *promptum libertati*. Tacitus frequently uses the dative with *promptus*, though others rarely so do, as Livy (25. 16. 12). — **tuta et praesentia**, etc.: *preferred the present with its security to the past with its perils*. Note the chiasmus (see Introd. § 39. 3).

2. **Neque . . . abnuebant**: Tacitus here implies (which was true) that the provinces were better off under the emperors than under the republic, so irresponsible was the provincial government under the republican régime. See 1. 76. 4, *Achaïam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levare in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit*. — **certamina potentium**: the clashes of powerful rivals, such as Marius and Sulla, or Pompey and Caesar, which extended even to the provinces. — **legum**: in reference to the laws *de pecuniis repetundis* and similar enactments touching the matter of extortion in the provinces. — **ambitu**: *intrigue*, lit., *a going around*. This personal solicitation on the part of a candidate readily developed into bribery.

3. 1. Ceterum: used here merely to mark a transition to another phase of the same theme, as in 2. 5. 1; 2. 42. 1; etc. — **subsidia** = *ut subsidia essent*, an appositive equivalent to a purpose clause (Introd. § 9). — **dominationi:** for a similar use of the dative with *subsidium* see Cic., Ad Att. 1. 10. 4; De Orat. 1. 60. 255. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 40. — **Marcellum:** the promising young Marcellus addressed in Vergil, Aen. 6. 862, *tu Marcellus eris*, etc. He was born B.C. 43 and died in the year of his aedileship, at the early age of twenty. — **pontificatu:** young men of high rank were often appointed members of the priestly colleges. Cf. 3. 29. 3, *additur pontificatus*. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1111, n. 2. — **M. Agrippam:** M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the well-known son-in-law of Augustus, frequently referred to in the *Annals*. — **ignobilem loco:** Agrippa was of so humble a family that he preferred to drop his father's name Vipsanius. Allen calls attention to the fact that the inscription upon the Pantheon he had erected (rebuilt by Hadrian) reads: *M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit*. — **geminatis:** *consecutive*; it is a remarkable fact that he was consul two years in succession, B.C. 28–27, — a circumstance which under the empire almost never occurred except in the case of the emperor himself. — **generum:** Agrippa married Augustus's daughter Julia. — **privignos:** i.e., sons of his wife Livia by her former husband. — **imperatoris nominibus:** the title *imperator*, as here used, indicates the republican custom of bestowing that appellation upon a general after a signal victory, not to the praenomen *imperator* which the emperor assumed. Tiberius and Germanicus both conducted successful campaigns in Germany, and evidence of their employment of this title is furnished by an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IX, 2443). — **integra . . . domo sua:** his grandchildren Gaius and Lucius comprised his own household; but even while they were yet living, he bestowed these honors upon his stepsons.

2. induxerat: he adopted Gaius and Lucius, B.C. 17, when Gaius was but two years old and Lucius just born (Dio Cassius 54. 18. 1; Suet., Aug. 64). — **principes iuventutis:** the title *princeps iuventutis* is simply an honorary title analogous to *princeps senatus*, designating the heir to the throne, but carrying no duties or privileges. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1141, 1155. 4; Pelham, *Essays*, p. 132. — **destinari:** Augustus apparently deemed it prudent to

interpose a quinquennium rather than to offer the youths an immediate consulship. He himself says in regard to the matter: *Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium* (Mon. Anc. 2. 46-3. 6.)

— **recusantis**: genitive of present participle in agreement with a substantive understood, as a substitute for a gerund (see Introd. § 35). Cf. Agric. 43. 4, *monumenta ipsa deficientis*.

3. **vita concessit**: *died*; the use of this expression as well as of *concedere* alone is peculiar to Tacitus. See Introd. § 41 (e). Cf. 3. 30. 1, *Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri*; 4. 38. 3, *quandoque concessero*; etc. — **Armenia**: Tacitus makes rather frequent use of the ablative of place whence without a preposition in the case of names of countries. This seems to be an extension of the rule applying to towns and small islands (see Introd. § 23). Cf. 11. 24. 2, *Etruria Lucania et omni Italia in senatum ascitos*, etc.; 13. 7. 2, *et abscessere Armenia Parthi*. — **fato**: in reference to natural death, as often. Cf. 2. 42. 5, *finem vitae sponte an fato implevit*. — **illuc**: here in reference to a person, as in Hist. 3. 38. 6, *versus illuc*, etc. — **collega imperii**: the first step in the formal act of designating Tiberius as successor to the throne was the bestowment upon him of the tribunician power, B.C. 6, which was renewed on his adoption in A.D. 4, upon the death of Gaius. The *potestas tribunicia* was conferred upon him for life in A.D. 14, the *imperium proconsulare* having been conferred upon him a few years earlier, perhaps in B.C. 8. Thus, as crown-prince, Tiberius shared with Augustus the dignity of the proconsular and the tribunician power. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1151. — **omnisque . . . ostentatur**: in reality the prince was formally presented only to two armies, viz., those in Germany and Illyricum. — **palam**: here with the force of an adjective. There was no longer any concealment of her designs.

4. **Agrippam Postumum**: son of Agrippa and Julia whose murder is recorded in chapter 6. — **Planasiam**: Pianosa, near Elba. — **proiecerit**: exceptional sequence, quite common in Tacitus. See Gildersleeve-Lodge, Lat. Gram., § 513; Allen and Greenough, § 485. c; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 182.

5. **At hercule**: a formula indicating a marked contrast, as if

Livia's influence had failed in this case. The asseveration, according to Nipperdey, implies the author's keen joy. Cf. 1. 17. 1; 1. 26. 3, etc. — **Germanicum**: Germanicus had served under Tiberius in Germany, A.D. 11, and after his consulship in the year 13 he had been put in command of the army in that province. His command extended over not only the eight legions in Germany (four in Upper and four in Lower Germany), but also the three Gauls (Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis and Gallia Belgica). See Introd., art. Germanicus. — **adscirique**: a rather unusual word (found only in Tacitus and Vergil, Aen. 12. 38) for the more familiar *adsciscere*. Cf. Hist. 4. 24. 2, *adsciri in societatem Germanos*; 4. 80. 1, *adsciri inter comites*. — **quamquam esset**: Tacitean usage varies between the indicative and the subjunctive in *quamquam* clauses, with the preponderance in favor of the subjunctive. (Nipperdey.) — **filius iuvenis**: the younger Drusus, son of Tiberius, who was about twenty-seven years old at this time. *Iuvenis* is applicable to a man from twenty-five to forty-five years of age.

6. **abolendae infamiae**: here the gerundive has the force of a genitive of quality. Tacitus makes free use of the genitive of the gerund and gerundive. See Introd. § 22. — **cum Quintilio Varo**: the reference is to the signal defeat of the Romans by Arminius in the Teutoburg Forest, B.C. 9 (Introd., art. Germanicus). — **cupidine proferendi imperii**: Augustus had an established policy not to extend the boundaries of the empire. See 1. 11. 7, *Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*, etc.

7. **eadem . . . vocabula**: *the same titles*, i.e., as under the Republic. The censorship only was dropped. — **Actiacam victoriam**: the battle of Actium served to establish Octavius's supremacy and the principate (B.C. 31). — **rem publicam**: the republic had perished in the civil wars, so that the generations born after the battle of Actium had never seen it.

4. 1. **prisci et integri**: more closely connected than if *neque* had been used. Cf. 1. 70. 5, *Non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 107 (where he observes that *et* in negative sentences is frequent in Tacitus, especially in combinations of this sort).

2. **et corpore**: *et* is here an adverb with the force of *etiam*. — **aderatque finis**: *and the end was at hand*. — **in cassum**: *to no pur-*

pose. — *disserere*: here governs the accusative as often in Tacitus. Cf. 2. 27. 1; 6. 34. 5; Sall., Cat. 5. 9, *paucis instituta maiorum disserere*.

3. *differebant*: Gerber and Greef (*Lexicon Taciteum*) note that they spread various speeches about the future princes (*varios sermones edebant de principibus futuris*). — *aetate*: Agrippa was only twenty-six years old at the time. — *experientia*: used in the sense of "knowledge gained by experience," — a meaning reputed to be restricted mainly to Vergil and Tacitus. Cf. 1. 42. 2, *longa experientia*. — *moli*: in reference to the weight of empire as in 1. 11. 2, *taetae molis*. — *Tiberium Neronem*: the cognomen occurs again in 1. 5. 6, but was dropped on Tiberius's adoption as heir. — *maturum annis*: Tiberius was then fifty-six years old. — *spectatum bello*: he had triumphed over the Pannonians (B.C. 9), the Germans (B.C. 7), the Illyrians, Dalmatians and Germans (A.D. 12). — *superbia*: haughtiness was an inborn trait of the Claudian gens. See Suet., Tib. 2, *Claudios omnes . . . optimates assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse*. Mommsen, however, dissents from this traditional view (*History of Rome*, Vol. I, Appendix).

4. *et*: implies a corresponding *et* which, because of a change of construction (*ne . . . quidem*), does not follow. — *eductum*: *educated*; for the regular *educatum*. — *regnatrice*: not elsewhere employed by Tacitus (*ἄραξ λεγόμενον*). — *consulatus*: in B.C. 13 and 7. — *Rhodi*: Rhodes at that time was not within the boundaries of the Roman empire. — *exul*: Tiberius was nominally in voluntary retirement, but he was really not permitted by Augustus to return to Rome (see Suet., Tib. 12, *remansit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem*). Various reasons were assigned for his retirement, such as the infidelity of his wife Julia (alleged by Tacitus) and the fear of exciting the jealousy of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (alleged by Tiberius, Suet., Tib. 12). — *aliquid*: see Crit. App.

5. *inpotentia*: *imperial spirit*. Cf. 5. 1. 5, *mater impotens, uxor facilis*. — *duobusque . . . adolescentibus*: i. e., Germanicus and Drusus. — *interim*: *in the meantime*; opposed to *quandoque*. Cf. 14. 41. 2, *interim specie legum, mox praevaricando*; Plin., Epist. 2. 5. 9. — *premant . . . distrahant*: in reference to the disputes as to who would succeed Tiberius. However, both of the princes died

before Tiberius. *Quandoque* is here indefinite, *sometimes*, as in 4. 28. 3, *quandoque supplicia sequerentur*.

5. 1. agitantibus: ablative absolute with *eis* understood; some editors explain it as a dative of reference. Both constructions are characteristic of Tacitus (Introd. § 28 (b)). — **gravescere valetudo:** cf. 6. 46. 9, *Sed gravescente valetudine*. — **scelus uxoris:** the story ran that she put poison in some figs hanging upon the tree, which he afterwards gathered and ate (Dio 56. 30. 2). — **suspectabant:** this verb with its present meaning is reputed to have been first used by Tacitus, who frequently so employs it.

2. Fabio Maximo: identified as the Paullus Fabius Q. f. Maximus mentioned in the *Acta Arvalium* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI 1. 2023 a). He was a friend of Ovid, who addressed some of his epistles to him (e.g., ex Pon. 1. 2).

3. Marciae a daughter of Atia and cousin of Augustus.

4. Gnarum = notum, a usage almost peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. 1. 51. 4; 1. 63. 3; etc. — **dubium an:** *perhaps*. Tacitus makes frequent use of such parenthetical expressions. — **quaesita:** said of something designed or unnatural. Cf. 3. 57. 1; 5. 3. 3; 6. 50. 1.

5. Utcumque . . . habuit: Tacitus thus discredits the story and charge of poisoning as quite improbable in view of Augustus's age and infirmity and Livia's unremitting watchfulness. — **vixdum ingressus Illyricum:** for the circumstances of the last journey of Augustus in company with Tiberius, see Suetonius (Aug. 98 and Tib. 31). Illyricum comprised Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia. — **spirantem:** Suetonius says that he found him still alive, — *fuitque una secreto per totum diem* (Tib. 21). Velleius Paterculus (2. 123. 3) accepts the same story. Dio (56. 31. 1), on the other hand, follows Tacitus. — **apud urbem Nolam:** *at Nola*. It is characteristic of Tacitus to employ *apud* for *in* with the ablative or a simple locative, as here. See Introd. § 36 (a).

6. namque: usually positive, but here used as an enclitic like *enim* in the poets and later historians. Cf. 2. 43. 5. — **provisis quae:** *having provided such things as*. Tacitus frequently omits the subject of the ablative absolute when as here, it is the antecedent of a relative clause. See Introd. § 5

6. 1. caedes: Suetonius (Tib. 22) states that Postumus Agrippa

was murdered before the death of the emperor was announced. — *quamvis firmatus animo*: *though firm in his resolve*. Cf. Sall., Hist. Fragm. 3. 24, *firmatus animi*. — *aegre confecit*: this implies that he resisted the executioner. Suetonius says that the death warrant was first read to him.

2. *praescripsisset*: subjunctive of partial obliquity, as giving the representation of Tiberius. — *custodiae*: *as a guard*; dative of purpose or end. Some editors translate: "set over the guard" (dative after *adposito*). — *quandoque* = *quandocumque*, *whenever*. Cf. 4. 38. 3, *quandoque concessero*.

3. *saevaque . . . questus*: according to Suetonius (Aug. 65), Augustus refers to him and the two Julias (daughter and granddaughter) as *tres vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua*. — *duravit*: *hardened himself*, a sense first found in the silver writers. Cf. 14. 1. 6, *duratura filii odia*; Quint. 9. 2. 88, *non durat ultra poenam abdicationis*.

4. *festinavisse*: the transitive use of this verb, so common in Tacitus, is poetical, though occurring in Sallust.

5. *centurioni*: Suetonius (Tib. 22) in recording the answer of Tiberius employs almost the same language except that he says it was a tribune.

6. *Sallustius Crispus*: a great-nephew of the historian Sallust, adopted by him as his heir. He died A.D. 21. Cf. 3. 30. 1, *C. Sallustius*. — *subderetur*: the force of the prefix *sub* indicates that the charge was false. Cf. 1. 39. 4; 3. 67. 3; etc. — *iuxta periculoso*: *since it was equally perilous*; *iuxta* here has the force of *pariter*, and *periculoso* is the ablative absolute of a neuter adjective (Introd. § 28 (b)). Cf. 3. 60. 6, *libero*; Livy 28. 36, *incerto prae tenebris quid aut peterent aut vitarent*. — *seu*: the first *seu* is omitted, — a common practice of Tacitus. Cf. 2. 17. 8; 3. 18. 6; etc. — *eam condicionem*, etc.: *it is inherent in the nature of ruling that the account will not balance if rendered to another than the ruler*, etc. The figure involved in *ratio constat* is of course drawn from bookkeeping.

7. 1. *eques*: *the equestrian order*; collective singular for plural, as *miles* below. Cf. 4. 74. 5, *patres eques*. Note the asyndeton (Introd. § 37).

2. *falsi*: *hypocritical*. Cf. 3. 3. 1; Sall., *Cat.* 10. 5, *ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit*. — *ne laeti*: *sc. essent*. Tacitus rarely

omits the verb in the subjunctive unless another subjunctive follows. (Nipperdey.) See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 36, also *Introd.* § 29.

3. **Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius:** Dio (56. 29. 5) alleges their kinship to Caesar as the reason why these consuls were continued in office throughout the year. See 2. 50. 1. — **in verba . . . iuravere:** the form of oath (called "*sacramentum in nomen Tiberii*" in the next chapter) taken by the whole people and by the provinces as a recognition of Caesar's *imperium* throughout the empire. This oath of allegiance to the emperor as supreme ruler was exacted once a year of all classes (*senatus milesque et populus*). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 792. — **Seius Strabo:** the father of Sejanus, who as commander of the praetorian guard made himself the notorious master of Rome under Tiberius. Strabo died three years later as prefect of Egypt (Dio 57. 19. 6). Cf. 1. 24. 3, and 4. 1. 3. — **C. Turranius:** perhaps the first incumbent of this new office who still held it thirty-four years later, — A.D. 48 (11. 31. 1). See Sen., *Brev. Vit.* 20. 2, *Turranius fuit exactae diligentiae senex, qui post annum nonagesimum, cum vacationem procurationis ab C. Caesare ultro accepisset, componi se in lecto et velut exanimem a circumstante familia plangi iussit. Lugebat domus otium domini senis nec finivit ante tristitiam quam labor illi suus restitutus est.* — **praetoriarum . . . praefectus:** the praetorians comprised nine cohorts of 1,000 men each under the command of a tribune, and the entire body was commanded by two prefects regularly (though now only one). Six of the cohorts were stationed outside of Rome in various parts of Italy and three in Rome as the emperor's body-guard. Sejanus had the entire force concentrated in a fortress just outside the city to keep Rome in subjection, thus investing the office of praetorian prefect with almost supreme power. — **annonae:** the office of *praefectus annonae* was created the latter part of Augustus's reign, being appointive by the emperor, who himself had charge of the markets throughout the entire empire. The incumbent had no authority save as a representative of the emperor, and his duty was to provide the markets of Rome with grain and other necessities, which involved on his part oversight of the sailors, bakers and others participating in this vast enterprise. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 935 and 1041 foll. — **senatus milesque et populus:**

these classes comprised the entire civil population of Rome. Cf. 11. 30. 5, *populus et senatus et miles*.

4. **per consules**: at this time it was the policy of the emperor to do all things through the regular constitutional channels, viz., the consuls. His own acts were by virtue of the proconsular and tribunician powers with which he was already invested. — **ambiguus imperandi**: *as if he had not yet determined to accept the imperium*. See Introd. § 20 (d). This use of the genitive with *ambiguus* in Tacitus is new and analogous to the use of the genitive with *dubius* and *incertus* in Livy (Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 71).

5. **edictum . . . vocabat**: Tiberius convened the senate only by virtue of his tribunician power, his proconsular power not conferring this authority upon him. — **praescriptione**: *by virtue of the title*. — **posuit** = *proposuit*; the simple for the compound, as in 4. 27. 1. This poetic usage of simple for compound verb is rare in Tacitus's minor works and *Histories*, but increases with frequency in his *Annals* (Draeger cites 39 cases). See Introd. § 30.

6. **neque abscedere**: this explains his absence from Rome and indicates at the same time the respect Tiberius paid his adoptive father. Augustus's body was borne by local magistrates, by easy stages, from Nola where the edict was issued to Bovillae and thence by knights to Rome, arriving there the day before the senate met (see Suet., Aug. 100; Dio 56. 31. 2).

7. **signum** = *tesseram*,⁷ *the parole*. Cf. 13. 2. 5, *signumque more militiae petenti tribuno dedit optimae matris*. — **excubiae**: *the watch*, composed of a cohort of praetorians who kept guard at the house of the "princeps" and served as a body-guard when he went elsewhere. — **cetera aulae**: *everything else pertaining to a court*. As Nipperdey notes, *aula* is used in Tacitus to signify courtiers; e.g. 2. 43. 5.

8. **adepto**: here passive in meaning, though perhaps nowhere else so employed in Tacitus. — **cum . . . loqueretur**: subjunctive of repeated action. (Introd. § 34 (a).) This use of the subjunctive is rarely found before Livy, but is quite frequent in Tacitus, Suetonius and later writers. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 159 and 165.

9. **praecipua**: not only did he fear the popularity and military power of Germanicus, as alleged, but he was in constant dread of

plots such as Libo's (2. 27) and Clemens's (2. 39). See Suetonius, Tib. 25.

10. **Dabat et famae**: *he made a concession also to public opinion*. Note that the omission of the accusative here with *dare* (as also in 13. 49. 5) is after the analogy of *tribuere*. — **uxorium**: in reference to the influence of Livia over Augustus in his latter years. — **senili**: Augustus was sixty-five years old at the time of the adoption. For Livia's influence in the adoption see 1. 3. 3 and 4. 57. 4.

11. **inductam**: *was assumed, put on*; a metaphor from the stage (Nipperdey). Cf. Hor., A. P. 2, *varias inducere plumas*. — **detorquens**: *misrepresenting*. Cf. Livy, 42. 42. 5, *calumniando detorquendoque*. — **recondebatur**: *he would store up in memory*. Cf. 1. 69. 7, *quae reconderet auctaque promeret*.

8. 1. **per virgines Vestae**: it was customary to deposit wills, treaties and other valuable documents in temples and especially with the vestal virgins, for safe keeping. Thus Caesar's will was deposited with the vestals (Suet., Jul. 83). Suetonius (Aug. 101) gives the will of Augustus with some variations, alleging that it was deposited in the temple of Vesta sixteen months before. — **Liviam heredes**: Suetonius (Aug. 101) says that Augustus's wife Livia inherited one third and Tiberius two thirds of the estate; and Dio (56. 10. 2) adds that a special decree of the senate was passed removing Livia's disabilities to inherit according to the *Lex Voconia*.

2. **Augustum**: here used as an adjective as in *mensis Augustus*, *forum Augustum*, etc. From this time, however, Livia is invariably called Augusta in Tacitus. — **in spem secundam**: *heirs in default (secundos heredes)*; i.e., in case the first heirs failed to qualify. Drusus, son of Tiberius, was to inherit one third, according to Suetonius, and Germanicus and his three sons, Drusus, Caligula and Nero, two thirds (*ex partibus reliquis*). — **primores**: *sc. quosdam*. Suetonius adds *propinquos amicos complures*. — **gloriaque**: *love of glory*.

3. **civilem**: i.e., of an ordinary citizen. Cf. 3. 3. 5, *civile ingenium*. — **populo et plebi**, etc.: Suetonius (Aug. 101) mentions this as two separate bequests, — *legavit populo Romano quadringentis tribubus tricis quinquies sestertium*. This is usually explained as signifying that the former legacy, — *quadringentis (centena milia sestertium)*, a sum equivalent to \$2,000,000, if we rate the sesterce at five cents, —

found its way into the treasury, and the latter sum, — *triciens quin-quiens*, a sum equivalent to \$175,000, — was distributed to the poorer members of each tribe. If this explanation is correct, why does Tacitus mention the entire sum as one legacy simply? Furthermore, if we divide \$175,000 among the 200,000 persons supposed to be entitled to a gratuity, each one's share would be only about 87 cents. But Dio (57. 14. 2) informs us that the share of each recipient amounted to 260 sesterces, about \$13. It follows that there is here a marked discrepancy which calls for a different explanation. We are forced therefore to assume with Marquardt (*Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 126) that the entire amount was distributed *viritim*. On this assumption we must explain Suetonius's statement as to two distinct legacies as an error and interpret the words *populo et plebi* as signifying all those citizens who were entitled to share in the imperial bequests. — **praetoriarum cohortium**, etc.: Tacitus's statement as to the largess to the soldiers does not agree with the statements of Suetonius and Dio (56. 32), since Tacitus omits to mention the 500 sesterces apiece given to the soldiers of the city cohorts (*urbanis quingenos*), enumerated by Dio and Suetonius. On the other hand, Tacitus mentions the cohorts of Roman citizens omitted by the other two. — **urbanis quingenos**: inserted in the text on the authority of Suetonius and Dio (Crit. App.). The city cohorts, three in number, aggregated 3,000 soldiers. They formed a part of the guard of the Capital, being designated X, XI and XII, and inasmuch as they did not strictly belong to the praetorian cohorts, they were under the command of the prefect of the city, not the praetorian prefect. — **cohortibus civium Romanorum**: there were apparently thirty-two of these cohorts, who were volunteers, chiefly, from Italy. Though not assigned to any legion, these cohorts ranked with the legionaries cohorts, receiving the same donation. Neither Dio nor Suetonius makes any mention of them, and even Tacitus omits them in his general summary (4. 5. 5).

4. **quis**: archaic for *quibus*. See Crit. App. — **porta triumphali**: this gate which perhaps was open only on occasion of a triumph is supposed by the best authorities to have stood between the "Porta Flumentana" and the "Porta Carmentalis." Nipperdey, following Jordan (*Topographie der Stadt Rom* I, p. 240), takes it to mean simply an arch in the Campus Martius. See Middleton, Remains

of Ancient Rome I, p. 127; Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, p. 346. — **Gallus Asinius**: son of Asinius Pollio the orator. Note that in conformity to the custom under the empire, the cognomen is put before the nomen and the praenomen omitted. — **L. Arruntius**: a leading contemporary statesman who incurred the ill-will of Tiberius (1. 13. 1) and took his own life to escape being put to death (6. 48. 2).

5. **Messalla Valerius**: son of Messalla Corvinus and consul B.C. 3. He won some military distinction in Pannonia for which he was voted a triumph. He was a friend of Tibullus and Ovid, and was himself known as a writer. The present reference (like that in 3. 18. 3) indicates that he was not a man of irreproachable character. — **renovandum**: it had become the custom as early as A.D. 69 to renew the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum*) each year (Hist. 1. 55. 1). — **interrogatusque**: it was the practice of Tiberius, at least in the early part of his reign, to decline adulatory honors.

6. **umeris senatorum**: Sulla is said to have been the first to receive this honor. — **Remisit**: *excused*, i.e., from the duty as the senators had themselves regarded it. *Remittere* sometimes has the meaning *to excuse from a duty*; e.g. 3. 55. 1, *remissa cura*. He did not prohibit it and therefore the body was borne by senators, according to Suetonius (Aug. 100). — **turbassent**: in allusion to the people's burning the body of Caesar in the Forum at the instigation of Mark Antony's impassioned funeral oration (Suet., Jul. 84; Dio 44. 36–50). See Plutarch, Caes. 68. — **in campo Martis**: Augustus built his mausoleum in the Campus Martius B.C. 28, and the lower part of this tomb (*tumulus Augusti*) still remains. Suetonius describes it as a circular building with a kind of park surrounding it (Aug. 100).

7. **occisus dictator**: note the use of the participle for an abstract noun followed by a genitive (Intro. § 35 (d); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 210). Cf. 1. 16. 1, *mutatus princeps*; 1. 59. 2, *rapta uxor*. — **provisis . . . opibus**: *the heirs having been provided with resources against the commonwealth*, i.e., to maintain their usurped authority.

9. 1. **idem dies**: 19 August, the anniversary of his consulship, which began 19 August, B.C. 43. However, early in the same year, by a special vote of the senate, he had been invested with the *imperium propraetore* (Mon. Anc. 1. 6). But this *imperium* was

inferior to the consular *imperium* clothing him with full authority, as noted. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 747.

2. **Numerus . . . aequaverat**: he had been consul thirteen times, which number equaled the sum of the consulships of Gaius Marius (consul seven times) and Valerius Corvus (consul six times). — **septem et triginta annos**: to be accurate, it was thirty-six years and two months, from 27 June, B.C. 23. Tacitus is here speaking in round numbers. — **nomen imperatoris**: in reference to the custom, under the republic, when a commander was saluted by his soldiers as *imperator*, after a victory. These twenty-one victories of Augustus were for the most part won by his officers, of course, acting under his *imperium*. — **honorum**: a characteristic Tacitean use of the genitive of the neuter adjective used abstractly. Cf. 3. 35. 1, *cuncta curarum*; 4. 41. 1, *tacita suspicionum*; 4. 70. 1, *ardua Alpium*. See Introd. § 20 (c). — **multiplicata**: perhaps, as Furneaux suggests, in reference to the repeatedly bestowed title of "*pater patriae*" and the periodically renewed *imperium*. See Mon. Anc. 2. 15-41 and 6. 16-21.

4. **Hi**: sc. *dicebant*, or some other verb of saying from *extollebatur auguebaturve*. Tacitus not infrequently omits a verb of saying or thinking when the thought or speech is indicated in the context (Introd. § 29). — **parentem**: i.e., Julius Caesar, his adoptive father whose death he avenged. — **quae . . . per bonas artes**: *civil war which can neither be declared nor waged by honorable practices*.

5. **concessisse**: the inference is that the crimes of the triumvirate were not his own, but those of his colleagues, to whom he gave assistance only to gain his chief end. But Suetonius says that though he opposed for some time the plan of his colleagues for a proscription, still when once begun, he carried out the plan more vindictively even than they (Aug. 27, *in quo restitit quidem aliquamdiu collegis*, etc.)

6. **principis**: a civil title selected, no doubt, purposely because of its association with the republic, the title of king being notoriously odious to Roman ears. See note to *nomine principis*, 1. 1. 3. — **Oceano**: Tacitus, like Livy, is fond of using an adjectival substantive in apposition, a poetic usage (Introd. § 2). Cf. 3. 6. 2, *imperator populus*; 15. 34. 2, *maris Hadriae*. — **am̄ibus longinquis**: the Rhine, Danube and Euphrates. — **saeptum**: it was the policy of

Augustus to mark off the empire by established and natural boundaries, such as rivers, seas and the like. — **conexa**: this would imply that the empire had an efficient postal system. — **magnifico ornatu**: ablative of quality. It is a well-established fact that Augustus greatly improved and adorned Rome by his extensive building operations. It was his famous boast that he found the city brick and left it marble (Suet., Aug. 28).

10. 1. Dicebatur contra: from the fuller statement of this view some editors infer that Tacitus indicates his leaning to this as the correct view. — **obtentui**: *as a pretext*; dative of purpose or end, especially common with *esse* (Intro. § 14). — **ceterum**: = *re vera autem, in reality, however*. This use of *ceterum* repeatedly occurs in Tacitus, especially in the *Annals* (cf. 1. 3. 1). However, *ceterum* in this sense is not peculiar to Tacitus, being found also in Livy and Sallust. — **per largitionem**: a bribe of 500 denarii (about \$100) offered in October, B.C. 44, to each of the veterans settled by the dictator at Calatia and Casilinum, to join Octavius. See Cic., *Ad Att.* 16. 8. 1, and Vell. Patere. 2. 61. 1. — **paratum . . . exercitum**: see the statement of Augustus himself as recorded in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (1. 1), *annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi*. The force is estimated to have comprised 10,000 men, poorly organized, and the event occurred just after the death of Caesar when Octavius first espoused the cause of the old Pompeian party. Later he went over to Antony's side and by a coalition with him and Lepidus formed the second triumvirate. — **consulis**: i.e., Antonius, whose legions summoned from Macedonia deserted to Octavian (Cic., *Phil.* 3. 3. 6). — **simulatam . . . partium**: noted by Draeger (*Syntax und Stil* § 223) as an exceptional rhetorical arrangement in Tacitus. *Pompeianae partes* signifies the "optimates." — **ius praetoris**: the praetorian *imperium* was conferred upon him by the senate on motion of Cicero (*Phil.* 5. 16. 45), 1 January, 43. Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 781) regards the act as unconstitutional. — **invaserit**: this implies that the authority was usurped; the mood is subjunctive of *oratio obliqua*. — **caesis**. Hirtius was killed at the battle of Mutina, B.C. 43; and Pansa, wounded in same battle, died a little later at Bononia. Suetonius (Aug. 11) indicates a suspicion of poison, — *Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum*

vulneri indidisset. — *invito senatu*: usually interpreted as a dative. Cf. 3. 30. 4, *adfluentia luxu prior*; 3. 47. 1, *ortum patratumque bellum senatu*. It was for the senator who held the comitia as *interrex* to decide whether he should allow him to stand for the consulship without being duly qualified. — *abstulerat*: Tacitus, after the example of Livy, not infrequently interposes a relative or an explanatory clause in the indicative in the midst of *oratio obliqua*, where model prose requires the subjunctive of attraction (Intro. § 33 (a)). Cf. 2. 81. 3; 3. 6. 5; 4. 25. 1, etc. — *divisiones agrorum*: in reference to the grant of land made to the veterans after the battle of Philippi, B.C. 42. Vergil refers to such a grant of land as this (Ecl. 1. 9), and both he and Horace perhaps lost their patrimony in this manner.

2. *Sane*: *to be sure, it is true*; concessive as in 3. 5. 4; 6. 14. 4; etc. — *Brutorum*: Marcus and Decimus. — *quamquam*: *and yet*; corrective. — *sed . . . sed*: anaphora; such rhetorical repetitions are employed for emphasis and are not infrequent, especially in the early works of Tacitus (Intro. § 39. 1). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 240. — *imagine pacis*: *under a pretext of peace*, in allusion to the terms of peace stipulated with Sextus Pompey at the treaty of Misenum, B.C. 39, which were not fulfilled. — *specie amicitiae*: in reference to no specific act of bad faith, but to the general treatment of Lepidus, whose authority as triumvir was equally disregarded. — *post*: adverb, to be taken only with *poenas morte exsolvisse*, since the treaties here referred to were executed before the overthrow of Pompey and Lepidus, which occurred in B.C. 36. The treaty of Brundisium was made in B.C. 40, that of Tarentum in B.C. 37. — *nuptiis sororis*: Antony married Octavia, sister of Octavianus, whom he later deserted for Cleopatra, the marriage being stipulated in the treaty of Brundisium (B.C. 40); and because of this association the mention of that treaty is put out of the chronological sequence, after the treaty of Tarentum (B.C. 37).

3. *sine dubio*: *beyond a doubt*; concessive as in 1. 6. 3, *multa sine dubio*. — *Lollianas Varianasque clades*: the defeat of M. Lollius was administered by some German tribes in B.C. 16, that of Varus by the combined forces of the German tribes under the leadership of Arminius in the Teutoburg Forest, in A.D. 9. The defeat of Varus was attended with terrific loss, proving a signal blow to the prestige

of the Roman arms in Germany. — **Varrones Egnatios Iulos:** rhetorical plurals after the analogy of *Lollianas Varianasque*, indicating only instances. Translate: *Executions at Rome of men like Varro, Egnatius and Iulus*, etc. L. Licinius Muraena, whose adoptive name was Terentius Varro Muraena, was executed with Fannius Caepio for conspiracy against the life of Augustus in B.C. 23. Egnatius Rufus, aedile and twice praetor, was executed in B.C. 19 for having formed a plot to assassinate Augustus. Iulus Antonius, son of Mark Antony by Fulvia, speedily rose to the highest dignity by the aid of Augustus and married Marcella, daughter of Octavia, but later committed adultery with Julia. This crime was regarded as treason, in consequence of which Iulus was forced to take his own life, B.C. 2.

4. **abducta . . . uxor:** viz., Livia the mother of Tiberius and Drusus. The latter son who was the father of Germanicus was born after her marriage to Caesar. From the preceding negative clause some verb of saying is clearly to be supplied. — **Q. Pedii:** great-nephew of Julius Caesar, who named him in his will as one of his heirs. He served as legate under Caesar in Gaul in B.C. 57; praetor, B.C. 48; author of the *Lex Pedia* interdicting fire and water to the murderers of Caesar; consul with Octavius (Augustus) in B.C. 43, and died the same year. See Crit. App. — **Vedii Pollionis:** a friend of Augustus and a man of great wealth, but of low birth. He used to throw his condemned slaves to the lampreys in his fish ponds even in the presence of Augustus. Augustus inherited his extensive villa at Posilipo which he later had torn down because of its unsavory associations. See Ovid, *Fasti* 6. 639, and Seneca, *De Ira* 3. 40. — **gravis . . . mater:** Livia was called *gravis mater* because she imposed her son Tiberius as ruler upon the state, and *gravis noverca* because, according to popular belief, she was suspected of causing the deaths of his competitors, the young princes Gaius and Lucius. (Furneaux.)

5. **se . . . coli vellet:** according to Suetonius (Aug. 52) and Dio (51. 20. 8), Augustus would not allow any temples to him to be erected in Rome during his lifetime. But he even authorized local worship of himself in some of the provincial towns before his death. Indeed, the worship of Augustus after his death became, with the well-organized *Augustales* (priests to his honor), the most widely

diffused and popular cult within the boundaries of the empire. See Mommsen, *Hermes* XVII, 641, and *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 757. — **flamines**: the flamen was a priest of a special cult, and the college of priests of Augustus's cult was called *Augustales*.

6. **Ne Tiberium**: though Tiberius furthered the worship of Augustus in many ways, still he would not tolerate any attempt to establish a cult to his own honor (Suet., Tib. 21). — **detrimenta** = *cum deterrimo homine* (if expanded).

7. **paucis annis**: the last renewal of tribunician power was granted by Augustus to Tiberius perhaps for life. This power was conferred upon Augustus by a vote of the people, on recommendation of the senate; but Augustus conferred it upon Tiberius directly, according to the rules of co-optation, probably after consultation with the senate (Suet., Aug. 27). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 795, 869 foll. — **habitu**: *deportment*. Suetonius (Tib. 68) says of him, *cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus*. — **cultu**: *kind of dress*. Cf. 2. 59. 3, *Tiberius cultu habituque*. — **instituta**: *ways, manners*.

8. **Ceterum**: *however*; resumptive, after the digression from the main theme. — **templum**: erected by Livia and Tiberius upon the Palatine next the Forum. — **caelestes religiones**: the apotheosis of Augustus dates from 17 September, when the decree was passed by the senate.

11. 1. Versae, etc.: see Velleius Paterculus 2. 124, for a parallel account.

2. **quam . . . onus**: *sc. esset*. It is characteristic of Tacitus to omit the verb *esse* even in dependent clauses requiring the subjunctive. Cicero offers a few examples, but the usage is rare in prose. See *Introductio*. § 29 (c).

3. **non ad unum**: note here the employment of *non* for *ne*, in order to place special emphasis on *ad unum*, as well as to contrast it with the following *plures*. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 12. 78, *non Teucros agat*.

4. **occuleret**: subjunctive of repeated action (see *Introductio*. § 34 (a)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 159. — **in incertum**: this use of *in* with the accusative to express result is peculiar to Tacitus (*Introductio*. § 36 (c)).

5. **metus si**, etc.: *whose reason for fear was that they might appear to be aware*, implying that they feared the consequences of detection.

For the rare expression *metus si*, which may be after the analogy of *miror* and *mirum est si*, see 16. 5. 3, *quippe gravior inerat metus si spectaculo defuissent*, etc. See Introd. § 42. — *libellum*: this document was one of three deposited by Augustus, along with his will, with the vestal virgins (Suet., Aug. 101). The second document contained directions for his funeral and the third a catalogue of his achievements, of which the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is a copy. Dio (56. 33. 3) informs us that there was also a fourth document containing rules and directions of government, including a recommendation as to a division of functions.

6. *regna*: probably semi-independent kingdoms, such as Mauretania, Cilicia, Cappadocia, etc., most of which were later incorporated into the empire. — *tributa aut vectigalia*: *tributum* was a direct tax levied upon the provinces, while *vectigal* denoted an indirect tax like customs-duties, etc. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 178, 269; Mommsen, *History of Rome* I, 109. — *necessitates ac largitiones*: i.e., regular expenses and donations which were voluntary. Note that the two kinds of expenditures are closely coupled by *ac*, in contrast with the sources of revenues. For the asyndeton see Introd. § 37; also Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 140.

7. *terminos*: i.e., the existing boundaries. Dio mentions this rule of policy as being set forth in the fourth document filed in the temple of Vesta. — *metu an per invidiam*: note the variation of construction for which Tacitus shows a marked predilection. On inconcinnity in Tacitus see Introd. § 41.

12. 1. *Inter quae*: Nipperdey calls attention to Tacitus's fondness for this and similar expressions, as *post quae* (1. 13. 1), *adversus quae* (3. 59. 1), *ob quae* (2. 30. 4), etc. — *dixit forte*: he happened to remark. — *ut . . . ita*: although . . . yet. Cf. 1. 42. 5; 3. 43. 4; 4. 33. 3; etc. — *quaecumque pars*: Dio (57. 2. 4) says that he expressed his willingness to take any one of the three departments he suggested: — Rome and Italy, or the armies, or the provinces.

2. *Asinius Gallus*: son of Asinius Pollio, orator and man of letters, consul B.C. 8, and pro-consul of Asia B.C. 6.

3. *collecto animo*: having recovered his presence of mind. — *nequam . . . mallet*: Dio (57. 2. 6) states that he replied that it was not proper for the man who made the division to select his share also,

καὶ πῶς οὐδὲν τέ ἐστι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι. — **cui:** dative after *excusari*; a very rare construction.

5. **in toga:** *in times of peace*; in contrast with times of war implied in *victoriarum*. The purpose of the reference to Augustus was to show the advantage of single rule, while that of the reference to Tiberius was to indicate his capacity.

6. **ideo:** *still for that*. Cf. 1. 72. 3; 2. 42. 1; 3. 25. 2. — **tamquam:** *on the ground that*; *tamquam*, like *quasi*, *velut* and *ut*, is frequently employed to introduce an alleged reason. Cf. 1. 35. 4; 1. 47. 5; 2. 84. 3; 6. 50. 4; etc. — **Vipsania:** daughter of Agrippa by Pomponia who was the daughter of Atticus, Cicero's friend. After giving her in marriage to Tiberius, Augustus, for political reasons, forced him to divorce her, much against his will, in order to marry Julia. Vipsania afterwards married Asinius Gallus. She died A.D. 20. See Introd., art. Tiberius. — **Pollionisque Asinii:** the famous orator, poet and historian, born B.C. 75 and died A.D. 4. — **ferociam:** *high spirit*. Pollio was never an enthusiastic supporter of the new order and was noted for his freedom of speech (Suet., Aug. 43).

13. 1. **L. Arruntius:** a prominent statesman, consul A.D. 6, frequently mentioned. — **divitem:** *as being rich*; in agreement with the object of *suspectabat*. — **artibus:** *accomplishments*, not the least of which was his eloquence.

2. **principem:** *first*; adjective as in 3. 75. 1 and 4. 38. 1. — **suffecturi:** *though they would be competent*; concessive future participle, to be taken absolutely. — **vel:** for *aut*. Cf. 13. 41. 3; 14. 35. 4. — **idem:** nominative plural. — **M'. Lepidum:** it is uncertain whether this Lepidus who appears to have been consul A.D. 11 was the grandson of the triumvir. Tacitus always refers to him in terms of respect, mentioning his death in 6. 27.

3. **Cn. Pisonem:** consul B.C. 7; appointed to the command of the province of Syria, it is alleged, to thwart and oppose Germanicus (Introd., art. Germanicus), whom he was suspected of poisoning. When summoned before the senate on the charge of complicity in the death of Germanicus, Piso either took his own life or was dispatched by the order of Tiberius (3. 15). Cf. 1. 74. 6 and 2. 43. 3. — **omnesque:** Tacitus appears here to speak without sufficient warrant. For while Tiberius may have had some part in the death of Gallus, who was implicated in some way with the case of Sejanus, and while

Tiberius was only suspected of having had Piso put to death, Tacitus himself admits that Tiberius had no part in the death of Arruntius. Indeed, it is stated later on (6. 47. 4) that Tiberius was not probably aware of the charge against Arruntius. It follows, therefore, that *omnes* here should not be made to apply to all of the four mentioned.

4. **Q. Haterius**: consul B.C. 9; a fluent speaker, but a man of mean disposition (4. 61. 2). — **Mamercus Scaurus**: consul A.D. 21; a character similar to the above. Cf. 6. 29. 4, *Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, vita probrosus*. — **relationi**: a technical term to describe the action of the magistrate in bringing business before the senate. The tribunes of course had the power of veto of such an act of a magistrate. However, in this special case *relatio* has reference to a decree bestowing the dignity of *princeps* upon Tiberius, and since he already had the proconsular *imperium* and the tribunician *potestas* representing the military and civil authority of the government, the decree in question practically established his supremacy as head of the state.

5. **implacabilis**: inasmuch as Tiberius was offended at the speech of Scaurus, who insinuated that he was not sincere.

6. **flexit**: Suetonius (Tib. 24) states that he was reluctant to assume such a burden and only consented to do so till the evening of life, when he should desire peace and quiet.

7. **Constat Haterium**: Suetonius (Tib. 27) records the same to indicate Tiberius's hatred of flattery, but does not name Haterius. — **Palatium**: the Palatine hill was the site of the imperial residence, and the emperor's palace built there came to be called "Palatium," from association of the name of the hill with the palace. — **genua**: the expression is borrowed from Sallust (Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 259). The usual construction requires the dative with *advolvere* (as 1. 23. 2), but the preposition *ad* in composition here furnishes the justification of the accusative. Cf. 6. 49. 3; 15. 71. 1. — **an = aut** after the ellipsis of *dubium est utrum*, as often in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 65. 3; 2. 38. 9; etc. — **curatissimis = accuratissimis**. Cf. 2. 27. 1; 14. 21. 2.

14. 2. **parentem . . . matrem**: on the titles bestowed upon the wife of the emperor by the Romans, see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 821. Both Cicero and Caesar were hailed *pater patriae* and *parens patriae*. — **alii . . . censebant**: note the varia-

tion of construction in this passage. Disregard of concinnity, balance and parallelism is one of the most conspicuous features of Tacitus's style. — *Iuliae filius*: according to Orelli, it was wholly without precedent that Tiberius should have borne his mother's name in addition to the title *Divi Augusti filius* which is regularly found in inscriptions. The custom was of Etruscan origin.

3. *moderandos*: Tiberius was, for the most part, firm in his resolution that he and not Livia, his ambitious mother, should keep control of the reins of government. See Suet., Tib. 50. — *lictorem*: Livia appears to have had a lictor in the performance of her duties as priestess of Augustus (Dio, 56. 46. 2). Two lictors were later granted to Agrippina by the senate, in the worship of Claudius 13. 2. 6). Such distinction was not granted to any private woman. Of course the vestal virgins were accorded the distinction of being attended in public by lictors. — *aram adoptionis*: being a mere monument of her adoption by Augustus (1. 8. 2), such an altar did not imply any act of worship. Altars of this kind were often set up, but were not regarded sacred.

4. *Germanico Caesari*: see Introd., art. Germanicus. — *proconsulare imperium*: this *imperium* granted by the senate, upon the death of Augustus, as a renewal of Tiberius's authority (which he received in A.D. 11) probably made him the colleague of the emperor and designated him as successor to the throne. It is implied in 2. 43. 2 that he did not share with Tiberius equal authority as *collega imperii*. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1151.

5. *designatus consul*: editors are not agreed as to the meaning of this passage. Most editors explain that as *consul designatus* he must have voted first in his case. Furneaux thinks that this objection might have been obviated (3. 22. 6), and that the real reason was that the proconsular *imperium* which was valid only in the provinces (*extra urbem*) would not be suitable to one who was to hold an urban magistracy. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1151 foll.

6. *Candidatos . . . duodecim*: the entire number of praetors to be elected was twelve. Since this nomination is contrasted with the right of appointing four praetors (described in chapter 15), it must have had only the force of testing qualifications and admitting to candidacy, as Allen holds. The presiding consul had the same

power of admitting to candidacy as the emperor (see 1. 81. 3). But nomination by the emperor, of course, was usually tantamount to election. So the senate's proposition that he should nominate more than twelve, as here implied (*ut urgeret*), would indicate that the emperor's power was to be limited, inasmuch as there would result an actual election from among his candidates. Upon the death of Augustus the popular assemblies were practically abolished. From this time they simply registered their vote after a decree of the senate conferring tribunician power upon the *princeps* or his colleague; in other elections, in a perfunctory announcement (*renuntiatio*) of the selection made by the senate. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 919. — **obstrinxit**: *solemnly swore, bound himself by oath*; used absolutely as in 4. 31. 5 and *se* is to be taken with *excessurum*.

15. 1. e campo comitia: reference is made here only to the election of the praetors. The consuls continued to be elected by the people in the customary manner till about A.D. 80 (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 877). The popular assemblies were held in the Campus Martius. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2. 126. — **etsi potissima**, etc.: *though those of greatest importance were determined by the decision of the princeps*. It seems best to take this as referring to the choice of the consuls, which after Augustus's death was transferred from the people to the *princeps*. Even Augustus himself occasionally had recourse to nomination of candidates for this high office.

2. senatus largitionibus, etc.: the senators themselves stood as candidates for all the magistracies above the quaestorship and followed the time-honored custom of canvassing for votes and offering bribes as a kind of necessary concomitant. — **ne plures . . . commendaret**: sc. *praeturae*. The formal written *commendatio* was established in A.D. 8, and such candidates as had this imperial endorsement were called *candidati Caesaris*. The proportion of such candidates was definitely fixed and, in the case of quaestors, numbered two out of twenty and, in the case of praetors, four out of twelve. In reference to this particular occasion Velleius Paterculus (2. 124. 4) states that the two first *candidati Caesaris* were *nobilissimi ac sacerdotes viri*, while the other two were Velleius and his brother, and that Tiberius was only confirming a previous designation by Augustus. It need hardly be remarked that the

commendatio was quite different from the *nominatio* of candidates by the *princeps*. The *nominatio* signified only that the candidates so enumerated were qualified to receive votes, but the *commendatio* was tantamount to election (*sine repulso et ambitu*). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 921 foll.

3. **de nomine Augusti**: named after Augustus; a poetical expression. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1. 277, *Romanosque suo de nomine dicet*; *ib.* 367, *facti de nomine Byrsam*. — **Augustales**: these games — *Ludi Augustales* — were celebrated on 9 October, or the 12th, and from this time were established as an annual festival (see also chapter 54). The cult of Augustus in Rome was distinct from that in the provinces. Augustus would not permit any formal worship of himself in the city during his lifetime, whereas after his death his cult became well established and associated with the perpetuity of the empire. — **vocarentur**: subjunctive of attraction in *oratio obliqua*.

4. **decreta pecunia**: the cost of the games was to be defrayed by the government either because it would entail too great expense on the functionaries, or more probably, as Allen suggests, because such a festival at their own expense would have gained them too much popularity. — **utque**: the *ut*-clause depends upon *decretum est* implied in *decreta*. For a similar double construction with this verb, see 4. 16. 6, and 14. 12. 1. — **triumphali veste**: the triumphal robe meant the *toga picta* and the *tunica palmata*, both embroidered with gold. — **curru**: the honor of being borne in a chariot was reserved for the praetor or consul, not an inferior magistrate such as a tribune ordinarily (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* I, 394). Of course the praetor celebrating the games had both the triumphal robe and the chariot. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 34. 5. 11. 20; Juv. 10. 36 and 11. 192.

5. **praetorem**: i.e., the praetor *peregrinus* who exercised jurisdiction over cases involving foreigners and citizens. — **evenisset**: subjunctive of partial obliquity representing an original future perfect indicative.

16. 1. **Pannonicas**: Pannonia, or upper Illyricum, was among the most important Roman provinces, extending along the Danube from the Drave to the Save. The country was subjugated by Tiberius, B.C. 12-9, and later organized into a province. Rome always honored this province with a *legatus* of consular rank. At

the time of the mutiny there were three legions stationed there, as Tacitus here states (see further chapters 23 and 30). When the mutiny in Pannonia was followed by the mutiny of the eight legions in Raetia and Noricum, the German provinces, the only troops left to hold the Roman provinces along the entire northern frontier were a few feeble garrisons of auxiliaries. Suetonius (Tib. 25) says that the mutiny was already known to have broken out by 19 August, the date of Augustus's death. But this seems quite impossible, unless we assume that the emperor's death occurred before that date and that the news was dispatched to the armies before the announcement of his death in Rome. On the formation of Pannonia as a province, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 292 foll.; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 25. — **mutatus princeps**: see *Introductio*. § 35 (d).

2. **Castris aestivis**: it is not definitely determined where these summer quarters were located. Mommsen says that there was a *castra stativa* in the open country about Poetovio (Pettau) on the Drave. (Provinces of the Roman Empire I, 26.) — **Iunio Blaeso**: praetor and afterwards proconsul of Sicily and Africa (3. 35 and 58 and 72), consul suffectus A.D. 10. He was an uncle of Sejanus, by whose influence he was made proconsul of Africa, where he gained a triumph and the title of "imperator." He perished in the downfall of Sejanus (see 5. 7. 2). — **iustitium**: a public mourning. The word (< *ius* + *sisto*) primarily means a cessation from business in the courts of justice, or a legal vacation. This was occasioned by a public mourning, so that the term came to signify ordinarily a public mourning.

4. **operarum**: professional applauders, or *claqueurs*. Pliny (Epist. 7. 24. 7) terms such service *theatralis opera*, which is the same as Tacitus here denominates *histrionale studium*. See Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners* II, 357, 363; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 542, and Suetonius, Nero 20.

5. **dilapsis**: sc. *in tentoria*, when the better element had retired to their tents. Cf. Hist. 3. 10. 7, *in tentoria dilaberentur*.

17. 1. **contionabundus**: haranguing in a public assembly. The word is said to occur elsewhere only in Livy (3. 47. 3; 5. 29. 10; 21. 53. 6, etc.). — **paucis**: each legion had six tribunes and sixty centurions.

2. **ausuros**: note the use of the future infinitive here representing the first person of the future indicative in direct discourse.

3. **tricena aut quadragena**: the regular term of service for legionaries was twenty years, at the end of which time they might demand honorable dismissal with a pension. But as a rule they still had to continue in service as a privileged body of veterans, variously known as *veterani*, or *vexillarii* from the standard (*vexillum*) which the corps carried. Evidence is furnished by inscriptions of veterans who had served thirty-three, or thirty-eight, or even forty years.

4. **dimissis**: i.e., released from strenuous service as legionaries and put into the rank of *vexillarii*. — **eosdem labores**: an apparent exaggeration since the *vexillarii* were exempt from the severest camp duties.

5. **adhuc** = *insuper*, as often in post-Augustan authors. Cf. 1. 48. 1; 4. 55. 7; 14. 52. 2. — **per nomen agrorum**: in reference to the grants of land as bounties to the veterans on their discharge. Note the use of *per* with the accusative as a substitute for the ablative (Intro. § 36 (d)). Cf. 1. 2. 1, *per acies*; 1. 61. 6, *per superbiam*; 2. 17. 1, *per ferociam*. — **uligines paludum**: *marshy swamps*. Tacitus is fond of using a partitive genitive with an abstract noun and neuter adjectives as abstracts. Cf. 1. 65. 1, *subiecta vallium*; 1. 65. 1, *lubrico paludum* (Intro. § 20 (c)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 66.

6. **denis . . . assibus**: about ten cents a day, an *as* being equivalent to a cent. — **hinc vestem arma tentoria**: sc. *emi*, implied in *redimi*. It would appear from this passage that the soldiers were provided with rations at public cost, but had to buy their own clothing and equipment out of their meager pay. — **vacationes munerum redimi**: refers to the practice of the soldiers of buying furloughs, or exemption from certain hard tasks imposed upon them by mercenary centurions. Note that *redimere* is used with *saevitiam* in the sense "to buy off," but with *vacationes* simply in the sense "to buy." Cf. Hist. 1. 46, *locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari donec vacationem emeret*.

8. **certis sub legibus**: *under specific conditions*. — **singulos denarios**: the *denarius* was originally a silver coin worth ten *asses*. The *as* was a copper coin which in the Hannibalic war, by lowering the standard, was reduced to one-sixteenth of a *denarius*, while the

silver currency remained unimpaired in value. Hence the *as* at this time was worth about one cent and the *denarius* about twenty cents. — *sextus decimus stipendii annus*: the limit of the earlier term of service had been sixteen years for the legionaries, which was of course later extended. However, the term still remained sixteen for the praetorians.

9. *binos denarios*: the wage of a praetorian was by regulation double that of a legionary. But the praetorians were paid in silver and the legionaries in copper. Therefore, when the standard of copper currency was reduced in the second Punic war, as above stated, the silver currency remaining unaltered, the result was that a legionary received as his wage ten asses (*deni asses*), about ten cents, while a praetorian received two *denarii*, or thirty-two asses, about thirty-five cents, which sum was more than three times the pay of a legionary. Naturally there developed a spirit of discontent among the legionaries, and they mutinied and demanded as an offset: 1st, a reduction of their term of service to its former limit; 2d, pay in proportion to the wages of the praetorians; 3d, cash bounties; 4th, the proper regulation of voluntary service after discharge. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 95 foll. — *acceperint*: refers to the time (B.C. 27) when double pay was given the praetorians (Dio, 53. 11. 5).

10. *obtrectari*: *that they did not speak disparagingly of sentinel duty in Rome*, — ironical. — *sibi . . . aspici*: *but that they had the enemy to look at, at their very tent door, among the savage tribes*; in contrast with the tame sentinel service of the praetorians at Rome. On the dative of the agent (*sibi*) see Introd. § 15; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 51.

18. 1. *Adstrepebat*: *the populace began to chime in*, etc. The verb is post-Augustan and rare except in Tacitus. Cf. 11. 17. 5; 12. 34. 4; Hist. 2. 90. 2. — *exprobrantes*: *showing reproachfully*; see 1. 35. 1.

2. *eo*: *to that degree, or length*. — *miscere*: the purpose of confusing the three legions into one must have been to distribute responsibility for the mutiny by shifting it from the individual.

3. *eum honorem*: presumably refers to the distinction of this legion's giving its name to the combined body of soldiers and retaining its own organization after it had absorbed the others. — *tres*

aquilas: since the time of Marius the standard of the legion was the silver eagle. In addition, each manipule had a standard. But, according to Nipperdey, at this time the cohorts probably had no distinct standard, which Vegetius (2. 13) states they later had, called "dragon" (*dracones*). Marquardt (*Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 425, note), however, argues from a passage in Caesar (B. G. 2. 25. 1) that the cohorts must have had special ensigns and that the reference here is to these.

4. **tribunal:** Tacitus elsewhere (1. 44. 4) uses the term *suggestus* for the structure here designated *tribunal*. The tribunal was the expression ordinarily applied to a raised platform from which the praetors dispensed justice in Rome. But this expression was also applied to a platform of turf erected in the middle of the camp where the consul and military tribunes administered justice or addressed the soldiers. The reference here, however, is to a similar platform erected by the soldiers, apparently, in their own quarters.

5. **Properantibus:** probably better taken as an ablative absolute than as a dative, as some editors regard it. — **leviore flagitio:** a condensed expression equivalent to *levius flagitium erit si*, etc. Trans.: *It will be a lighter crime for you*, etc. Cf. Hist. 1. 56. 5, *minore discrimine summi principem quam quaeri*; ib. 2. 46. 4, *maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinquere*. — **legatum:** i.e., Blaesus.

19. 1. **Aggerabatur:** the manuscript reads here *aggerebatur*, emended by the editors into *aggerabatur*, on the support of 1. 61. 3, *aggerata*. Or the orthography should be *adgerebatur* in conformity to *adgerere* (2. 57. 3). — **pectori:** dative after *adcreverat*. Cf. 1. 23. 2, *pedibus advolutus*; 1. 74. 2, *saevitiae principis adrepit*; 3. 50. 5.

2. **multa dicendi arte:** ablative of quality (Intro. § 27). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 61. — **parum in tempore:** *most inopportune*. Cf. 3. 41. 3.

3. **tenderent . . . meditentur:** Tacitus is fond of shifting from past to present time in indirect discourse, perhaps, as Pfitzner suggests, in order to put himself in the time of the event itself as narrator. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 27, c.

4. **filius Blaesi:** this may be the son who is referred to (3. 74. 2) as serving later under his father in Africa. See 6. 40. 3. — **fungere-tur:** an original subjunctive of the present shifted to past in indirect discourse. — **ab sedecim annis:** *after sixteen years* (of service). —

provenissent: of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, though rare elsewhere, in the sense *to prosper*. Cf. 4. 12. 3; 14. 25. 2.

5. **filius . . . orator:** a concise construction of a substantive for a *quod*-clause; more frequently a participle is employed instead of a substantive, especially as subject of a verb. Cf. 1. 8. 7, *cum occisus dictator Caesar*, etc.; 1. 16. 1, *quod mutatus princeps*, etc. See Intro. § 35 (e); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 210 and 211. — **expressa:** *extorted*. Cf. 1. 39. 3; 1. 78. 3; etc.

20. 1. **Nauportum:** now Ober-Laibach, near the Save in Carniola, southern Austria. — **vexilla:** detachments of a legion employed on some special work, such as making a road, had a *vexillum* made of cloth as their standard, while the legion of course had a standard made of metal (*aquila*). — **municipii:** this term was applied to a town enjoying Roman citizenship with the right of local government. Rome first conferred such municipal privileges upon towns in Italy, and subsequently extended the organization to places beyond the borders of Italy. Other towns were called simply *oppida*. But Pannonia being only recently organized into a province, Nauportum had not yet been granted municipal privileges. — **praefectum castrorum:** the praefect was not an officer of any special legion. The term seems to be applicable to an officer, civil or military, placed in charge of a special work. The *praefectus castrorum* was probably promoted from the rank of centurion and had disciplinary power, but not the power of capital punishment. There appears to have been only one praefect to each camp, although there might be several legions in the camp. However, after Domitian (see Suet., Dom. 7) ordered each legion to have its own camp, each legion of course had its own praefect, who took the place of the legate or commander. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 458. — **vehiculo:** perhaps better be taken as dative than ablative, after *dereptum* (both poetical usages). Cf. 13. 57. 7, *postremo tegmina corpori derepta iniiciunt*.

2. **manipularis:** the ordinary private soldier, the rank and file, as opposed to the officers of a legion. A manipulus (< *manus* + *pleo*, one who rallied around the handful of hay or grain forming the primitive standard) was a division of the Roman legion, and each legion had thirty maniples, three in each of the ten cohorts. Two centurions commanded each legion. The centurions were taken

from the rank and file of the legion, while the tribunes of the legion were officers selected from the aristocracy. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, cited above. — *vetus operis*: *experience in the work*; *operis* is a genitive of reference after *vetus*. Tacitus frequently employs a genitive with adjectives as here (Introd. § 21 (d)). Cf. 1. 62. 3, *formidolosior hostium*; 2. 88. 4, *recentium incuriosi*; etc. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 71.

21. 2. *etiam tum*: refers to the early stage of the mutiny before matters came to such a pass that even the centurions had to flee for their lives (chapter 23).

3. *centuriam*: the century as a body in contrast with the individuals by name (*nomina singulorum*). — *quisque cuius*: *quisque* is to be taken with the subject of *ciere*, while *cuius* refers to *centuriam*, — *each man in the century in which he served*.

4. *nihil reliqui faciunt*: *leave nothing undone*; genitive of partition. Cf. Sall., Cat. 11. 7, *nihil reliqui victis fecere*; Caes., B. G. 2. 26. 5, *nihil . . . reliqui fecerunt*. — *quo minus*: for *quin*, as often in Tacitus (5. 5. 2; 13. 14. 3; etc.). — *permoverent*: imperfect after a historical present (*faciunt*); note the accusative of effect after this verb, which occurs only once before Tacitus (Quint. 12. 10. 36, *permovendi omnes affectus erunt*). Cf. 3. 23. 1, *tantum misericordiae permovit*.

5. *iam*: *even, already*; emphatic, as indicating how far the demoralization had already gone.

22. 1. *seditioni*: see Introd. § 17; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 53. — *quid pararet*: depends upon the idea of inquiring implied in *intentos*, *bent on seeing*; a pregnant construction due to brevity. — *a Germanico exercitu*: it appears almost impossible for the revolt of the German army to have been generally known at the time, although it had occurred. — *iugulavit*: subject to be supplied from the sense, as in 2. 70. 2, *lenta videri veneficia*. — *gladiatores*: it was the practice of provincial governors to keep troops of gladiators for display or entertainment, till Nero put an end to the practice. See Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners* II, 41.

2. *sepultura invident*: *begrudge them burial*; the dative of the person required by the complete construction is wanting, but such omission is not infrequent in writers of the silver age. Cicero generally employs the preposition *in* with the ablative with this

verb, or the dative. Cf. Quint. 9. 3. 1, *paene iam, quidquid loquimur, figura est, ut hac re invidere, non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipe, huic rei*; Plin., Epist. 2. 10. 2, *quousque et tibi et nobis invidebis, tibi maxima laude, nobis voluptate?* Livy 2. 40. 11, *Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri.*

23. 1. *Incendebat haec*: *he put fire into his words*, etc. Cf. 2. 82. 4, *Hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit*, etc. — *fletu . . . verberans*: observe how Tacitus changes the construction in utter disregard of the principle of parallelism or balance (concinuity). See Intro. § 41; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 233.

2. *disiectis*: in agreement with *iis* understood, the antecedent of *quorum*. — *pedibus advolutus*: cf. 1. 32. 4, *pedibus Caecinae advolveretur*. Tacitus more frequently employs the accusative with this verb, as 1. 13. 7, *genua advolveretur*. — *familiam*: *entourage, retinue of slaves*.

3. *pernotuisset*: *pernotescere, to become generally known*, is post-Augustan and rare, being found only in Tacitus and Quintilian (Decl. 3. 1). Cf. 12. 67. 1; 13. 25. 2; 14. 8. 2. — *aberant*: the indicative in the apodosis of an unreal condition, indicating that the action was actually begun and almost completed; a construction of frequent occurrence in Tacitus (Intro. § 33 (b)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 28, 194.

4. *vocabulum*: *nickname*, as indicated by *militaribus facetiis*. Cf. 1. 41. 3, *militari vocabulo*. Often used for a proper name, as in 1. 8. 4, *gentium vocabula*. — *Cedo*: *Give*; archaic imperative, very common in the every-day speech and in Plautus and Terence. — *vite*: the vine-rod was the badge of the centurion and was especially employed in the army for flogging citizen soldiers instead of the cudgel, which was the instrument of punishment for the regulars. Cf. Livy, Periocha 57, *quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit*.

5. *perferendis . . . mandatis*: dative after *idoneus*, which is a post-Augustan usage. Draeger cites *callidus, opportunus, inhabilis* and *aptus* as also having the same construction.

6. *cognomento*: *by name*; the word generally signifies a real name, not a nickname, and Nipperdey takes it here as a real name as attested by an inscription. — *morti*: like the poets, Tacitus makes free use of the dative of purpose or end. Ciceronian usage would

here require *ad mortem*, or rather a final sentence. See Introd. § 14; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 52.

24. 1. quamquam: Tacitus frequently employs *quamquam* with an adjective or participle as here, a usage rarely found in Cicero or Caesar, or even Livy. — **abstrusum:** *reserved*; peculiar here in reference to persons. — **praetoriis cohortibus:** there were nine praetorian cohorts, each of 1,000 men, and each commanded by a tribune, and the entire body was under the command usually of two praefects. The nine cohorts constituting the praetorian guard were stationed by Sejanus just outside the walls of the city. See 1. 7. 3, note. — **nullis satis certis mandatis:** note the similarity of ending of these words, a rhetorical figure called *homoeoteleuton*, which Nippedey points out as quite common in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 5. 5, *properis matris litteris*; 1. 16. 1, *nullis novis causis*; 15. 40. 2, *ignis, patulis magis urbis locis*. — **ex re consulturum:** *to determine according to the facts*. Cf. 3. 27. 2, *ex delicto*.

2. **delecto milite:** i.e., chosen from the other praetorian cohorts.

3. **praetoriani equitis:** a force of horse, apparently, went with each century of the praetorians. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 487. — **Germanorum:** Augustus had a body-guard of German (Batavian) horsemen, but dismissed them after the defeat of Varus (Suet., Aug. 49). It would appear from this passage that they were later restored. — **Aelius Sejanus:** the notorious vice regent under Tiberius, who succeeded his father as praetorian praefect (see 1. 4. 1; 1. 7. 3). — **collega:** on the advice of Maecenas, Augustus created two praetorian praefects as a measure of safety (Dio, 52. 24. 1), but sometimes there was only one who had sole command, as Sejanus, Macro, Burrus (12. 42. 2). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 866. — **iuveni:** one would expect a genitive rather than a dative here (see Introd. § 17). Cf. 2. 46. 6, *paci firmator*. — **ceteris:** to judge from the context, the reference is perhaps only to the praetorians from Rome, and not to the legions. The praefect in command is to warn the troops how much they had to lose or gain (*periculorum praemiorumque ostentator*).

4. **quasi per officium:** *as if by way of showing him respect*; lit., *duty*. — **insignibus:** *decorations*, i.e., badges of the soldiers. — **imitarentur:** though Tacitus generally uses the subjunctive with *quamquam*, yet he uses the indicative twenty times (Draeger, § 201).

25. 1. *portas stationibus firmant*, etc.: the mutineers adopted such measures in order to prevent the entrance of the praetorians with Drusus (see 1. 30. 1).

2. *Stabat*: placed first in order to impart vividness to the description, as often, according to Nipperdey. Cf. 1. 44. 4, *Stabant*; 1. 40. 4, *Incedebat*; etc. — *streperē . . . trepidare*: note the picturesque effect of the historical infinitive (Introd. § 32 (c)). — *pavebant terrebantque*: *they were filled with fear and inspired terror alternately, according as their emotions changed*; the two verbs are contrasted as in 1. 29. 3.

3. *plurima bella*: the reference is to the earlier wars Tiberius waged in Pannonia, B.C. 12–9, and jointly with Germanicus in Dalmatia, B.C. 9–6. — *senatui*: it was for the senate to determine rewards and punishments. Tiberius had some scruples about observing the surviving powers of the republic. — *quem neque gratiae*, etc.: *which was not to be regarded as destitute of the power both of reward and punishment*.

26. 2. *Is orditur*: on the demands here referred to, see chapter 17, notes. — *cum arbitrium . . . obtenderet*: *when Drusus pleaded the authority of the senate and his father as applying to these things*; i.e., as a pretext for his not acting. For *obtendere* in this sense see 3. 17. 2, *matris preces obtendens*; 3. 35. 2.

3. *necem cunctis permitti*: an exaggeration, since the death penalty could be inflicted only by the *legatus* of the emperor in imperial provinces (Dio, 53. 13. 6).

4. *rettulisse*: *had repeated*.

5. *filios familiarum*: a technical term meaning sons still under the control of their father. This disability continued till the father's death, unless removed by the formal act of emancipation. Contempt is implied in the words, as if the soldiers should say, "Do our rulers never intend to visit us themselves, but only send their sons who are not even their own masters?" Of course this was a mere subterfuge on the part of Drusus because his disabilities as a *filius-familias* had nothing to do with his powers as a representative of the emperor, public and private relations being kept entirely distinct. — *plane*: ironical, as the context shows; *it is clearly something new that the emperor*, etc. — *commoda*: *only rewards*; emphatic.

6. *an praemia*, etc.: *what? were rewards in the hands of the despots*,

but punishments without control? Both Augustus and Tiberius represented the title of *dominus* as an insult (Suet., Aug. 53; *ib.*, Tib. 27).

27. 1. *occurreret*: subjunctive of repeated action (Intro. § 34 (a)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 165. — *manus intentantes*: *threatening with their hands*; lit., *stretching out their hands*. Cf. 1. 65. 2, *manum intendentis*; 3. 36. 1, *cum manus intentarent*; 4. 3. 2. — *causam discordiae*: in apposition with the preceding phrase of action and explanatory of it. Ordinarily a relative clause would be employed to express this idea. But Tacitus frequently expresses the purpose or effect of an action by an accusative in apposition with the clause of action (Intro. § 9). Draeger (*Historische Syntax* § 309) considers the construction a Graecism. Cf. 1. 49. 5; 1. 74. 3; 2. 64. 6; etc. — *Cn. Lentulo*: probably the Cn. Lentulus who was consul B.C. 18 and who was honored with a triumph for his victory over the Getae. He died A.D. 25 (see 4. 44. 1). — *ante alios*: the use of *ante* to express superiority, like that of *post* to express inferiority, is rare in classical Latin. See Gudeman, *Dialogus* 26. 31. Cf. Sen., Ep. 104. 9, *tantus erat ambitionis furor ut nemo tibi post te . . . ante te*, etc.

2. *digredientem cum Caesare*: it seems best to interpret this to mean that Drusus with the small band he had with him was probably escorting Lentulus to the gate outside of which his own troops, the praetorians, were stationed. On realizing his danger these troops rushed to his rescue. — *provisu*: *by foreseeing*; the word occurs only in the ablative and is peculiar to Tacitus.

3. *multitudinis*: i.e., the main body of praetorians, not the Pannonian troops.

28. 1. *Noctem*: Tacitus is fond of personification. He personifies the Tiber (1. 79. 4), *lux* (1. 70. 7), *annus* (1. 54. 1; 2. 53. 1), etc. See Intro. § 39. 6. — *languescere*: this verb is reputed to be nowhere else used of an eclipse. This eclipse occurred 26 September. The Romans were familiar with the scientific explanation of eclipses as early as the time of Lucretius and Cicero and perhaps even earlier.

3. *aeris sono*: on the practice of blowing horns and beating cymbals to drive away the evil spirits which were supposed to cause an eclipse, see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 2. 12. 9. 54, and Livy 26. 5.— *prout splendidior*, etc.: it mattered not whether the moon was

brighter or more obscure, their spirits went with it, rejoicing in the former case and lamenting in the latter. Even when the moon was permanently hidden by the clouds, this common phenomenon after an eclipse worked upon their minds (Furneau).

5. *vigiliis, stationibus*, etc.: *watch, pickets, guards at the gates*; note the asyndeta (Introd. § 37). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 133–140.

6. *Neronibus et Drusis*: the plural here denotes not only the two illustrious families of the Claudii and Livii to which the Neros and Drusi belonged, according to Allen, but it also implies a tacit recognition of an imperial family. Cf. 11. 35. 2, *quidquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis*.

7. *in culpam . . . ad paenitentiam*: Tacitus's desire for variety leads him to a change of prepositions here. — *privatam*: *individual*; he exhorts them to submit as individuals, rather than as a body. — *mereare . . . recipias*: potential subjunctive, though it may be interpreted as the apodosis of a condition not formally expressed, but implied in *privatam*.

8. *tironem*: denotes a soldier who had not completed his term of service. Cf. 1. 42. 7, *ipsius tirones*.

29. 1. *orto die*: only a day and night had passed since his arrival in camp. — *rudis*, etc.: *inexperienced in speaking*; rare with the genitive of the gerund. Cf. Curtius 4. 2. 17, *rudis pertractandi*. — *terrore et minis*: *et* is sometimes employed in negative clauses more effectively than *nec*. Cf. 1. 4. 1, *nihil usquam prisci et integri moris*.

2. *Orantibus*: ablative absolute with *iis* understood. Tacitus frequently employs the neuter ablative of the participle absolutely with the subject to be supplied (Introd. § 28 (b)). Draeger (§ 212) cites numerous instances. Cf. 1. 5. 1, *Haec atque talia agitantibus*; 1. 35. 6, *addito*; 6. 16. 5, *concedente*; etc. — *ursum*: Blaesus had served as their messenger before (1. 19. 4). — *cohorte*: *retinue, entourage*. Cf. 6. 9. 2. It was not uncommon for a commander in the field to be attended by a retinue of friends. — *Iustusque Catonius*: probably the Catonius who served as praetorian praefect under Claudius, and who was later (A.D. 43) put to death by the empress Messalina. — *primi ordinis*: the first cohort of a legion outranked the other cohorts. The first centurion of the first cohort was designated *centurio primipilus* and ranked with the higher officers.

3. **Certatum**: the counselors of Drusus contended among themselves. — **terrere, ni paveant**: cf. 1. 25. 2, *pavebant terrebantque*. — **ex duce metus**: fear which the commander inspired; *ex duce* is used as a substitute for the subjective genitive which here would be ambiguous. Cf. 2. 38. 6, *si nullus ex se metus aut spes*; 2. 72. 2, *metum ex Tiberio*, etc.

4. **Promptum ad asperiora**: Tacitus alludes to Drusus's passionate disposition in 1. 76. 5, *quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens*. Dio Cassius (57. 13. 1) calls him ἀσελγέστατος καὶ ὠμότατος and adds that the sharpest swords were called from him "Drusiana" (Δρουσιανὰ). Yet despite Drusus's passionate nature, he had some noble traits of character not the least of which was his generous spirit, as attested by his constant affection for Germanicus, for whom he might quite naturally have entertained a feeling of jealousy on the ground of his being an adopted brother. — **obrutos**: were buried; used specifically of burying a dead body. Cf. Suet., Cal. 59, *cadaver . . . levi caespite obrutum est*. — **ostentui**: as a public spectacle; dative of end.

30. 2. **egredi tentoria**: Caesar (B. G. 1. 44. 7; B. C. 3. 52. *fin.*) is said to be the first writer to use this verb in the active, *to pass out of, to leave*, as here. Cicero does not use it in this sense. Cf. 2. 38. 3, *egredi aliquando relationem*; 3. 30. 2. — **tutari**: i.e., to keep the eagles standing; for it would have been regarded as a bad omen for them to fall.

3. **frustra**: without reason, i.e., from the point of view of the soldiers. Cf. 3. 58. 1, and 6. 6. 2, where *frustra* has the same sense as here. The usual meaning is *to no purpose*, from which *to without reason, or cause*, as here, is an easy step. — **hebescere**: to grow dull; the word is said to be nowhere else used of an eclipse. — **malorum**: neuter. — **piaculo**: from guilt. Cf. Verg., Aen. 6. 569, *commissa piacula*.

4. **epistulas**: after the analogy of *litterae* plural, as elsewhere (1. 36. 4; 2. 70. 3; 2. 78. 1). — **desolatus**: deserted. Cf. Verg., Aen. 11. 870, *desolatique manipuli*; Suet., Cal. 12, *deserta desolataque reliquis subsidiis aula*; Plin., Ep. 10. 96. 10, *desolata templa*.

5. **praesentia**: matters on the spot. Cf. 1. 45. 1, *compositis praesentibus*; 2. 47. 4.

31. 1. **ferme**: used regularly by Tacitus instead of *fere*, which

occurs only once (Hist. 4. 60), according to Nipperdey. — **Germanicae legiones**: the mutiny of the German legions was a matter of greater concern to the Roman government than that of the Pannonian legions, because it involved eight legions and included also the three divisions of Gaul, thus making it the most formidable proposition Rome had to deal with. Germany at the time was divided into two military districts, with an army for each district, one at Mayence and the other at Cologne. Out of these two districts provinces were later erected. — **tracturis**: Tacitus, like Livy, is fond of employing the future participle, as here, with the force of a condensed clause. Cf. 1. 46. 3, *cessuris*; 2. 80. 4, *pugnaturis*. See Introd. § 35 (c).

2. **superiori**: the two provinces of Germany were called *Germania superior* and *Germania inferior*, which were probably created somewhat after this time. However, there were the two armies at this time. The army of Upper Germany did not mutiny. On the formation of the German provinces see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 275. — **C. Silio**: consul in A.D. 13 and later was granted the honor of a triumph (chapter 72), suppressed the rebellion of Sacrovir. On his trial and death see 4. 18 and 19. — **A. Caecina**: he is mentioned as receiving triumphal decorations (chapter 72. 1), and in A.D. 6–7 he won distinction in Pannonia and Moesia. For additional facts in his career see 2. 6. 1; 3. 18. 3; etc. — **agendo . . . censui**: refers to the levy of tribute based on an assessment (*census*). Caesar imposed an annual assessment of forty million sesterces (\$2,000,000) upon the conquered Gauls (Suet., Iul. 25). But Augustus had the first systematic census of Gaul made in B.C. 27 (Dio, 53. 22. 5). See Marquardt, II, 213 (cited above), and Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1091.

3. **unetvicensimanis**, etc.: the legions of Lower Germany included the following: I (*Germanica*), V (*Alaudae*), XX (*Valeria Victrix*) and XXI (*Rapax*). Those of Upper Germany included: II (*Augusta*), XIII (*Gemina*), XIV (*Gemina Martia Victrix*) and XVI (*Gallica*). — **Ubiorum**: this tribe in Caesar's time lived beyond the Rhine and had a Gallic civilization. About B.C. 38 the Ubii with their own consent were transplanted on the upper bank of the Rhine by Agrippa, and their chief city was afterwards made a Roman colony called (*Colonia Agrippina*), modern Cologne, after

the younger Agrippina, Agrippa's granddaughter. After this Rome adopted the policy of transplanting German tribes upon the frontier on the condition of rendering military service.

4. **vernacula**: ordinarily interpreted to mean the lower classes of Rome's population. But Mommsen (*Hermes* XIX, 13-18) shows that *vernaculus* has a technical meaning in military relations and signifies a soldier (cf. *legiones vernaculae*) who was not a Roman citizen at the time of enrolment, but who became a citizen on enlistment. So Augustus, in the levy of A.D. 10, after the defeat of Varus, when free-born citizens were unwilling to serve, enlisted many freedmen and even slaves freed for the purpose, who of course did not possess citizenship (Dio, 57. 5. 4; Suet., Aug. 25). — **implere**: Cf. 4. 9. 1, *misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleverat*. — **maturam missionem**: the demands were the same as those of the Pannonian legions (see chapter 17. 8).

5. **in suum cognomentum**: i.e., the name "Germanicus," which on the death of Drusus was conferred on his descendants and therefore borne by their present leader and his brother Claudius (Suet., Claud. 1). Sometimes even Tiberius bore this name (Dio, 57. 8. 2). — **imperatores**: *commanders*, in reference to Drusus and his son Germanicus, the present commander, who was called "*imperator*" (1. 41. 2; 1. 44. 7) probably by virtue of his *imperium proconsulare*.

32. 1. Nec legatus, etc.: he failed to rise to the emergency as Blaesus did (1. 18. 5). — **constantiam**: *self-control, presence of mind*.

2. **lymphati**: *distracted*; poetical and post-classical. Cf. Livy 7. 17. 3, *lymphati et attoniti*; Curt. 4. 12. 14, *quippe lymphati trepidare coeperunt*.

3. **numerus**: since each legion had sixty centurions, this seems to mean that each centurion received sixty blows, one for himself and one for each of his colleagues. — **convulsos laniatosque**: *dis-membered and mangled*.

4. **Septimius**: a centurion of whom no record has come down to us.

5. **Cassius Chaerea**: a centurion who served as a tribune in the praetorian guard in A.D. 41 (Suet., Cal. 56). — **Gai Caesaris**: the emperor Caligula who reigned from 37 till his murder in A.D. 41. — **animi ferox**: *cruel of disposition*. On this genitive after adjectives see Introd. § 21 (d); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 71. Cf. 1. 69. 2, *ingens animi*; 4. 12. 3, *ferox scelerum*.

7. **altius coniectantibus**: in the judgment of those who had a deeper insight into the soldier's nature; a characteristic Tacitean dative. — **pariter**: they governed themselves as one man and did not therefore need a leader. — **ardescerent**: poetical for *exardescere*. This poetical usage of simple for compound verbs abounds in the *Annals*, though it is of rare occurrence in the earlier works of Tacitus (Introd. § 30). Cf. 1. 72. 5, *asperavere*; 1. 73. 1, *arsērit*; etc. — **aequalitate**: *uniformity*. Tacitus more frequently employs this word in the sense of *political equality*, as in 1. 4. 1 and 3. 74. 6.

33. 1. **ut diximus**: see chapter 31. 2.

2. **Agrippinam**: daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia. Agrippina was a woman of unblemished personal character, but unfortunately she possessed a towering ambition which brought her to bitter disappointment and misery in the end. Yet it is a debatable question whether her ambition, as Tiberius thought, led her to the point of treason. See Introd., art. Germanicus. — **plures** = *complures*, *several*, as in 2. 8. 2; 3. 33. 1, etc. — **liberos**: not to count the three children who died in infancy, there were six children born of this union, three boys and three girls, viz., Nero, born A.D. 6, Drusus, born A.D. 7, Gaius surnamed Caligula, born A.D. 12, Agrippina, born 15, Drusilla, born 17, and Julia Livilla, born 18. See Mommsen, *Hermes* XIII, 245, *Die Familie des Germanicus*.

3. **Druso**: a favorite prince, brave general, and conqueror of Germany; died B.C. 9. — **patrui**: i.e., Tiberius, who was his uncle by birth and father by adoption. In speaking of natural kinship Tacitus refers to Tiberius as Drusus's uncle, but in regard to legal relation he refers to Tiberius as Drusus's father. — **aciores, quia iniquae**: as Furneaux points out, Tacitus shows a fondness for such incisive maxims. Cf. 1. 20. 2, *Immitior quia toleraverat*; Agric. 42. 4, *proprium humani generis odisse quem laesis*; Hist. 4. 70. 3, *acerrima proximorum odia*; etc.

4. **libertatem redditurus**: Suetonius (Tib. 50) refers to a letter of Drusus to Tiberius and by him betrayed to Augustus, in which Drusus had discussed a scheme for forcing the restoration of the republic (*de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat*). But the fact that Augustus retained Drusus indefinitely at the head of his largest army, thus proving his confidence in Drusus, tends to discredit the story of this letter. Drusus was probably no ardent

believer in the monarchy and perhaps at first did not support the new régime with enthusiasm. But later he surely must have given it his earnest support when once he saw it established.

5. **civile**: the word signifies that which is becoming in an ordinary citizen. Cf. 1. 8. 3, *civilem*; 1. 12. 6, *civilia*.

6. **muliebres offensiones**: *feminine aversions*; many of these were due quite as much to the imperious nature of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, as to the excitable and ambitious Agrippina, whose temper is described as violent and uncontrollable. It was these things that gave rise to court intrigues. — **nisi quod**: *except for the fact that*; there is an ellipsis in thought here as if Tacitus intended to say, "Agrippina's temper would have deserved unmitigated condemnation but for the fact that, etc." For similar instances of a *nisi quod* clause qualifying some implied thought (though unexpressed), see 14. 14. 6, *nisi quod merces ab eo qui iubere potest vim necessitatis adfert*; Agric. 6. 1, *nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est*. — **quamvis . . . vertebat**: *a temper however uncontrollable she gave a good bent to in her virtuous life and her affection for her husband*. For parallel cases of *quamvis* see 6. 50. 1, *quamvis manifestam defectionem*, etc.; 15. 24. 1; 16. 16. 1.

34. 1. proximos: i.e., those around him, his circle of friends. See Crit. App. — **Belgarum civitates**: after taking the oath of allegiance himself and administering it to those of his circle, he proceeded to administer it likewise to those states nearest him at the time he learned of the death of the emperor, when news of the mutiny of the legions interrupted the work and prevented him, for the time at least, from extending the oath of allegiance to the other Gallic states and, furthermore, necessitated his speedy return to the scene of the mutiny. — **verba eius**: the emperor, though absent, is conceived as administering the oath of allegiance. This is the first recorded instance of the administration of the oath of allegiance to provincials as well as civilians. Cf. 1. 7. 3, *in verba iuravere*, note.

2. **audiri coepere**: Tacitus uses *coepi* not only with passive infinitives having a middle force (as *moveri*, *haberi*, etc.), in accordance with classical usage, but also without this restriction. He also uses *coeptus* actively as in 1. 65. 3, *coepta luce*, etc. It is to be noted, however, that he never uses the passive *coeptus sum* with the passive

infinitive. See *Introd.* § 31 (d); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 26 b.

4. *sic melius*, etc.: *they replied that they would hear better in this way*; i.e., by crowding around him in a more compact gathering. — *vexilla*: sc. *manipulorum*. Each cohort had three maniples and each manipule had a standard (*vexillum*) (see 1. 18. 3, note). Bringing the standards to the front offered a signal and an occasion to the soldiers to group themselves round them with the result that the disorderly mass would tend to form into cohorts, though they had previously refused to form by maniples in regular military order.

5. *flexit*: here used absolutely, as in Livy and Vergil. Cf. 6. 15. 5, *Dein . . . flexit ad graviora*, etc.; 13. 3. 2, *postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit*. — *apud Germanias*: Tiberius prosecuted the war in Germany after the death of his brother Drusus, B.C. 9, and in his campaigns in A.D. 4 and 5 he overcame the resistance in North Germany and had already undertaken the conquest of South Germany when he was suddenly called upon to suppress the rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia, in A.D. 6. But all of his work was frustrated by the overwhelming defeat of Varus in A.D. 9. See *Introd.*, art. Tiberius.

35. 1. *ubi*: sc. *esset*, depending upon *rogitans* below. — *modestia*: *self-restraint*. Cf. 1. 49. 6, *quarum ea seditione intemperata modestia fuit*. — *indiscretis*: *undistinguishable*, because of the various cries shouted out at the same time. — *pretia vacationum*: see 1. 17. 6. — *propriis nominibus*: *mentioning particularly*; lit., *by special names*. — *materiae lignorum*: *timber and fuel*; lit., *logs*. Cf. Ulpian, Dig. 32. 55. pr., *materia est, quae ad aedificandum fulciendum necessaria est; lignum, quidquid comburendum causa paratum est*. — *si qua alia*, etc.: *whatever other tasks are devised according to their needs or to prevent idleness* (see 1. 20. 1).

2. *mederetur*: depends upon *orabant*. This passage is very condensed and affords a good illustration of Tacitus's utter disregard of concinnity or balance. The use of *neu* to connect a substantive (*mortem*) with a preceding subordinate clause, as here, appears to be unprecedented, and makes a harsh combination. See *Introd.* § 41; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 233.

3. *legatam*: the legacy referred to in chapter 8. 3. — *faustis . . . ominibus*: some editors observe with good reason that this

seems to imply a recognition of Germanicus as the lawful heir. Dio (57. 5. 1) says they went even farther, τὸν Γερμάνικον αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεκάλεσαν. Cf. 5. 4. 3, *faustis in Caesarem ominibus*.

5. *quam* = *quam ut*; an ellipsis for *ita victurum ut*, etc. For a similar ellipsis, see Agric. 25. 3, *perpressus est omnia potius quam . . . indicaret*. — *adtinuissent*: Tacitus frequently employs this verb for *retinere*. Some editors who are biased in favor of Tiberius see in the conduct of Germanicus on this occasion only ostentation and insincerity. Allen thinks that Germanicus's conduct on this occasion was sincere and that he was here confronted by a real temptation to put himself at the head of the government, by resisting which he rendered a genuine service to his country. No doubt, he would have proved a formidable rival with eight legions to the unpopular Tiberius.

6. *Extrema*: those on the outskirts of the crowd as contrasted with the few bold mutineers who had pressed close up to Germanicus. — *addito*: *adding that it was sharper*, etc.; neuter absolute participle with subject understood (Introd. § 28 (b)).

7. *spatium*: *a pause*, during which Germanicus was spirited away by his friends while attention was centered upon Calusidius.

36. 1. *oppidum*: this was the capital, which in A.D. 50 was converted into the famous *Colonia Agrippinensis* (Cologne), so named in honor of Agrippina who was born there, A.D. 15.

2. *omitteretur*: the apodosis of this condition is involved in the future participle *invasurus*. Such a construction is common from Livy's time, though rare before. — *auxilia et socii*: the former term refers to those already in the army and the latter to those who might be levied later among the allied states of Gaul. — *suscipi*: loosely dependent upon *augebat metum*, *that the arming of the allies*, etc., *would be to enter upon a civil war*.

3. *concedentur*: see Crit. App.

4. *volutatis . . . rationibus*: *on turning over the plans in their minds*. — *missionem . . . meritis*: *complete immunity from camp duty was to be given to those who had served a full campaign*; *stipendium mereri* means *to serve a full campaign*, which varied from sixteen to twenty years; *missio* means *a full discharge*. — *exauctorari*: the word signifies *to discharge from service after sixteen years*; i.e., before the end of the usual twenty years' limit, technically termed *missio*.

Such a discharge was either an honor or a punishment. If an honor, those thus honorably discharged remained four years more in the army as a separate corps under a *vexillum* with peculiar privileges. In the present instance the demand was a reduction of the term of service by four years, since formerly even those who had served the full limit of twenty years had still to perform the customary obligation of four years' service after their discharge. — *duplicari* : Suetonius (Tib. 48) says that this was the only gift Tiberius made the soldiers except after the fall of Sejanus, when he made certain donations to the praetorians and some others. It is not therefore surprising that he was unpopular with the legions, in view of the niggardly policy he pursued with respect to them.

37. 1. *in tempus* : for the occasion. Cf. 1. 1. 2, *ad tempus* . — *largitio* : the donative was to be deferred, but the discharge was in the hands of the military tribunes, to be attended to at once.

2. *quintani unetvicensimanique* : these two legions started the mutiny (see chapter 31). They were conducted to winter quarters at *Vetera* , which is supposed to have been located near Xanten, about sixty miles below Cologne. See chapter 45. — *contracta ex viatico* : got together from their savings; *viaticum* is here used to signify a soldier's savings, rather than in the usual sense of traveling money. Cf. Hist. 1. 57. 5; Hor., Ep. 2. 2. 26.

3. *Caecina* : A. Caecina Severus, governor of Lower Germany (see 1. 31. 2). — *in civitatem Ubiorum* : perhaps the same locality as that indicated by *ara Ubiorum* (1. 39. 1). — *turpi agmine* : the march was disgraceful because the plundered money was taken from the emperor's privy purse (*fisci de imperatore rapti*). It was the settled policy to encourage the soldiers to deposit their savings with the standards (Suet., Dom. 7), which tended to promote thrift and to encourage the soldiers to stand by their colors. But on this occasion even the emperor's special treasury (*fiscus*) deposited with the standards was raided. Mommsen (*Hermes* XIII, 256, note) thinks that this disgraceful act was committed by the fifth and twenty-first legions, the leaders of the mutiny, and that Tacitus by mistake attributes the theft to the first and twentieth legions.

4. *superiorem ad exercitum* : the legions of Upper Germany included (besides the 2d, 13th and 16th here mentioned) also the 14th (*Gemina Martia Victrix*). See 1. 31. 2.

38. 1. in **Chaucis**: the Chauci dwelt along the mouth of the Weser on the North Sea. Elsewhere (Germ. 35) Tacitus speaks of them as the most noble tribe of the Germans (*populus inter Germanos nobilissimus*). But Pliny (N. H. 16. 1. 1) is not so complimentary, describing them as a race of fishermen (*misera gens*, etc.), and divides them into greater and lesser Chauci. Tiberius conquered them in one of his German campaigns; but, like the Frisii, they later revolted. See 4. 72. 1; 11. 8. 1; Suet., Claud. 24. — **coeptavere**: *attempted*; poetical term occurring frequently in Tacitus. Cicero is said to employ it only once, — Fin. 5. 9. 24, *coeptatque*. — **vexillarii**: not the ordinary *vexillarii* denoting veterans serving an additional term (1. 17. 4), but rather *detachments*. See 1. 20. 1, *vevilla*, note. — **discordium**: *disaffected*, i.e., the mutineers.

2. **M'. Ennius**: little is known of this praefect of the camp. — **concesso iure**: *invested power*. As a subordinate officer temporarily in charge of the post, Ennius had not the power of capital punishment. Only the regular praefect of the camp possessed such power (see 1. 20. 1).

3. **sed . . . violari**: the action of the soldiers was not simply mutiny, but treason, so that the offense was not simply against the praefect, but also against Germanicus and Tiberius, the general and ruler, respectively.

4. **ad ripam**: Furneaux is of the opinion that Tacitus did not know what river was meant, and merely supposed it to be the Rhine. Furneaux thinks it was the Ems. — **hiberna**: it is not clear which winter camp is here meant. Furneaux inclines to the camp at *Vetera* as being nearer to the Chauci. — **turbidos**: *seditionous*, which meaning requires *et* to be taken with adversative force, as Nipperdey shows. Tacitus is fond of using *et* with *nullus*, *nemo*, *nihil* and *numquam*. On this use of *et* with a negative see Madvig, Lat. Gram. § 458 a, Obs. 1; Allen and Greenough, § 324 d, note.

39. 1. **legati**: those who were commissioned to convey to Germanicus the *imperium proconsulare* (see 1. 14. 4). — **regressum**: i.e., from the army of Upper Germany (1. 37. 4). — **aram Ubiorum**: this is clearly the altar in the *oppidum* itself, which altar was dedicated to Augustus and Roma (see chapters 57 and 59). The *Colonia* established here after A.D. 50 was called after the altar situated in it *Colonia Claudia ara Agrippinensis*. See Marquardt,

Römische Staatsverwaltung I, 272, 5; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 182.

2. *sub vexillo*: perhaps it is best to take these words as modifying *missi* rather than *hiemabant*, though some editors prefer the latter interpretation (Allen, Nipperdey, etc.).

3. *conscientia vaecordes*: *maddened by the consciousness of guilt*. Cf. 1. 57. 2, *iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur*.

4. *quamvis falsis*, etc.: *to subject the accused to accusations, however false*. Cf. 1. 6. 6, *ne reus subderetur*. — **Munatium Plancum**: consul with C. Silius, A.D. 13; son of the famous Plancus (consul B.C. 42) addressed by Horace (Ode 1. 7). — **auctorem senatus consulti**: *on the score of being the author of the decree*. — **vexillum**: editors are not agreed as to which *vexillum* is here meant. Some take it to mean the *vexillum* under which the veterans above-mentioned were serving; others take it to mean the red flag of the commander-in-chief, which was used for the battle signal (see Caesar, B. G. 2. 20. 1, *quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrere oportet*). The following words (*in domo Germanici situm*) lend favor to the view that the *vexillum* here mentioned was the flag of the veterans which, somehow, had found its way into the general's quarters. Now, this was not the customary place for the veterans' flag, but it was the place for the regular battle flag, the red banner. On the other hand, the fact that the flag was in the general's tent would indicate that the *vexillum* here mentioned was the general's flag. Furthermore, it is difficult to explain why the *vexillum* of the veterans was in the general's tent, unless we take it as evidence of insubordination on the part of the veterans. If those attacking Germanicus were the veterans, then we must assume that their flag had no place among the standards of the legions, but was retained in the quarters of the general. Furneaux's explanation seems quite probable, viz., that the flag was that of the veterans who had received their discharge, but who had not yet perhaps received their money like the legions, and in their vague fear that all might be revoked, the veterans demand possession of their *vexillum* which was in the general's keeping as a guarantee. — **situm = positum**. **moliuntur fores**: *they break open the doors*. Cf. 2. 82. 8, *moliuntur templorum fores*.

6. **impediverat**: here followed by the ablative of separation

simply (Introd. § 23). Elsewhere Tacitus employs the regular construction of the preposition *ab* with the verb. — *castra primae legionis*: each of the legions had separate camps in their winter quarters.

7. *religione*: *with reverence*. The Romans had a marked reverence for the legionary eagles and other standards under which they fought, and they even swore by them in ancient times (Livy, 26. 48. 12). According to Cicero (Cat. 1. 9. 24), Catiline kept an eagle of Marius in a shrine in his own house. — *Calpurnius*: nothing farther appears recorded about this standard-bearer (*aquilifer*). — *rarum*, etc.: a parenthetical phrase modifying the following statement. Tacitus is fond of employing *rarum* in a parenthetical expression as here. Cf. 1. 56. 2; 6. 10. 3; 13. 2. 2. — *altaria*: the term is generally used in the plural and signifies a high altar; here, however, it is probably not to be distinguished from *ara* simply. The altars as well as the standards stood in the *principia*.

8. *Luce*: *in the early morning*, after it was light. — *imperat receptique*: note the historical present and perfect here joined as interchangeable. Cf. 2. 7. 1, *iubet . . . duxit*; 2. 20. 2. — *fatalem*: as *deum ira* implies, they were obsessed and were therefore hardly responsible for their conduct. — *neque militum*: sc. *esse* depending upon some word of speaking implied in *increpans*. — *ius legationis*: sc. *violatum*. Observe this pregnant construction, so characteristic of Tacitus. Cf. 1. 68. 2, *proruunt fossas*; 2. 40. 3, *pericula polliceri*; 3. 52. 3, *ad principem distulerant*. — *legio*: the first legion. Gross injustice was committed when Plancus was assaulted in the camp of this legion in violation of the universally recognized law of the sanctity of the office of ambassador.

40. 1. *Eo in metu*: this seems to refer to the condition giving rise to alarm, rather than actual fear. — *satis . . . peccatum*: *mistakes enough had been made*.

2. *filium parvulum*: this was the two years old lad who afterward became the Emperor Gaius Caesar, surnamed Caligula. Dio (57. 5) says that both the boy and his mother Agrippina were seized by the soldiers, who restored her to Germanicus, but kept the child as a hostage. — *avo*: by virtue of his adoptive relation, Caligula stood nearer to Tiberius than did Agrippina, Germanicus's wife.

3. *degenerem*: a poetical term which Livy (25. 40. 12) is said to

have introduced into prose. Tacitus employs it several times (4. 61. 1, *vitaque non degener*, etc.). — *ad pericula*: in reference to taking risks, as if *subeunda* were understood. Cf. 6. 7. 3; 14. 58. 1; etc.

4. *Incedebat*: emphatic, as indicated by position. The inference is that no conveyance was provided for them in order to enhance their misery. Translate: *A pitiable train of women was setting out on foot*, etc. — *qui manebant*: their husbands and friends who remained felt quite as sad as the wives and children who were torn from them so ruthlessly.

• 41. 1. *Non florentis Caesaris*: the appearance of things was not that of Caesar in prosperity, nor in his camp, but, as it were, in a captured city. Here, as in chapter 49. 1, *facies* is used in the sense of *rei aspectus* and *Caesaris* limits it in the predicate. — *contuberniis*: the omission of the preposition after a verb of motion, as here, is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus (Introd. § 23). Cf. 1. 3. 3, *Armenia*; 1. 39. 6, *fuga impediuerat*; etc.

2. *Quis ille flebilis sonus*: the impassioned exclamatory style is here designed, we may assume, to reflect the agitation of the speakers. — *triste*: with substantival force, as in 15. 34. 1, *triste . . . providum*, etc. Cf. Verg., Ecl. 3. 80, *triste lupus stabulis*. Translate: *What a spectacle so sad! Women of rank, — not a centurion, not a soldier as escort — nothing of the distinction belonging to the general's wife or her customary retinue! — Treveros*: modern Trèves or Trier. — *et externae fidei*: if we strike out *et* as most editors are disposed to do, then we should take *externae fidei* as a genitive of quality. If, on the other hand, we assume the text to be correct as it stands, we should take *fidei* as a dative of purpose, — a characteristic Tacitean construction (Introd. § 14).

3. *Drusus*: the father of Germanicus, who preceded him in command of the soldiers. These nominatives (*socer Drusus, ipsa, infans*) suggest the thoughts which agitated the minds of the soldiers. Note the striking change of construction. The relationship indicated is from the point of view of Agrippina. — *insigni fecunditate*: Agrippina was the mother of nine children in all. Of the six born to her up to this time, three were living, the other three having died in infancy. — *in castris genitus*: Gaius, now two years old, was not really born in the camp as Tacitus following the popular tradition here states, but at *Antium*. See Suet., Cal. 8, *Ego in actis*

Anti (Gaium) editum invenio. — **Caligulam**: this nickname is a diminutive of *caliga*, which signifies a coarse, heavy boot, such as the common soldiers wore. The officers above the rank of centurion wore the *calceus*, which denotes a finer and lighter footgear.

4. **quam**: *ac* would be more regular after *aeque*. — **invidia in Treveros**: the soldiers entertained a grudge against the Treveri because they envied them the honor of sheltering their commander's wife and child. — **orant obsistunt**, etc.: note the asyndeton, so characteristic of Tacitus (Intro. § 37).

42. 1. **patre**: his adoptive father Tiberius.

2. **liberos**: a rhetorical exaggeration, for only one child, Caligula, was present. — **quidquid istud sceleris**: *whatever crime on your part*; Tacitus is very fond of the partitive genitive (Intro. § 20).

3. **inausum intemeratumve**: the former word is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, the latter of frequent occurrence.

4. **proiecta**: *trampled under foot*. Contempt for the authority of the senate is implied in such treatment of their representatives (see 1. 39. 6). — **Hostium quoque ius**: *rights belonging even to enemies*. — **sacra legationis**: *the sanctity of a legation*. — **fas gentium**: *international law*.

5. **Quirites**: the official designation of the Romans in a civil capacity. Hence the implication of their immediate dismissal from military service. The incident here referred to occurred just before the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46 (see Suet., Iul. 70). — **Actiacas**: the reference is to the mutiny at Brindisium, which occurred after the battle of Actium (see Suet., Aug. 17). — **ut . . . ita**: see 1. 12. 1. — **Hispaniae Suriaeve**: a bitter reproach, as if he had said, "If you were soldiers of Spain or Syria to whom I was personally unknown." — **indignum erat**: the indicative is regular in the apodosis of unreality when the verb denotes power, propriety, etc., but Tacitus extends this use (Intro. § 33 (b)).

6. **illa . . . tu**: *illa* would regularly refer to the 1st legion and *tu* to the 20th. But the 1st legion was presumably a veteran legion which had been in service some time before Tiberius assumed command, while the 20th is believed to have been a new legion, raised perhaps by Tiberius himself at the time of the Pannonian rebellion. In view of this fact the editors explain that the reference here is not in the order of mention and that Germanicus, since the scene is in

the camp of the 1st legion, was facing that legion while speaking and naturally addressed it as *tu* and used *illa* to refer to the 20th legion which was standing in the rear of the audience, some distance from the speaker's tribunal. This interpretation seems to harmonize best with the circumstances. — *egregiam*: ironical, of course, for *pessimam*, as frequently in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 59. 3; 3. 17. 5; Hist. 1. 33. 3; etc. — *duci*: i.e., Tiberius, from whom the legion had received their standards.

7. *includi legatos*: the mention of these as a climax seems to indicate the military *legati*, not the delegates of the senate. However, no mention of any violence against the former has been made, although the attack on Plancus, a delegate of the senate (see 1. 39. 4), might thus be referred to. But the delegates of the senate had already departed. It seems best therefore to assume the present reference to *legati* to be either a rhetorical allusion merely, or a lapse of memory on the part of the author. — *flumina*: the Rhine near which the camp was located. — *precariam*: *by entreaty, by sufferance*. Cf. Hist. 1. 52. 6, *precarium imperium*.

43. 1. *melius et amantius*: sc. *fecit*. Tacitus occasionally omits a verb of moving and acting in vivid description and rhetorical passages. Cf. 4. 57. 1; 4. 38. 5. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 35; Introd. § 29 (b).

2. *exercitui meo conscius*: *implicated with my army*. A general, being responsible for the discipline of his army, was regarded as compromised in whatever breach of discipline he failed to prevent. — *Vari*: the defeat of Varus occurred five years before this, in A.D. 9. It was the purpose of Germanicus in all his expeditions to wipe out the reproach of this signal disaster. See Introd., art. Germanicus.

3. *Neque enim di sinant ut*: the use of *neque* for *ne* and of *ut* for *ne* after *sino* is very rare, occurring only a few times in Terence and once in Curtius. (Furneaux.) — *claritudo*: an archaic term for the classic *claritas*, used by Tacitus with increasing frequency in the *Annals* (see Wölfflin, *Philologus* XXV, 99).

4. *imago*: to be taken figuratively as *tui memoria* indicates, since it is quite improbable that the legion had an image of Drusus now long dead. — *gloria*: *passion for glory*. Cf. 1. 8. 2, *iactantia gloriaque*. — *hanc maculam*: the stain of mutiny, not the defeat of Varus, reference to which would have required *illam*, not *hanc*.

5. **si legatos**: the senatorial delegates were already on their way home (chapter 39.⁸), and no mention has been made of the legionary *legati*. It is not therefore clear what *legati* the author refers to. — **imperator**: i.e., the emperor. — **dividite** = *secernite*. Cf. 2. 43. 2, *provinciae quae mari dividuntur*.

44. 1. **alumnus**: i.e., the young Caligula who was a favorite with the entire camp.

2. **Reditum**: the accusative with *excuso* usually denotes the person or act apologized for, but here it denotes the thing Agrippina was excused from doing. The sentence is therefore equivalent to *Agrippinam excusavit quod non rediret*. — **partum**: history records the birth of no child of Agrippina this year. Hence Mommsen infers (*Hermes* XIII, 256) that the reference must be to the premature birth of a child that never lived.

3. **vinctos**: such a use of a plural adjective with a collective noun is rarely found in prose before Sallust and Livy. Cf. 14. 26. 3. — **legatum legionis primae**: the legion was commanded by its six tribunes down to about B.C. 58. During his Gallic campaigns Caesar adopted the plan of detailing one of his *legati* to the command of each legion, and this policy was followed in the Roman army till the second century, when it was superseded by the appointment of the *praefectus castrorum* (see 1. 20. 1, *praefectum castrorum*, note).

4. **pro contione**: after the manner of an assembly, the legions constituting the assembly; — a rare use of the phrase, according to Nipperdey. The phrase usually means *before the assembly*, as in 2. 22. 1, *Laudatis pro contione victoribus*.

6. **exemplum**: sc. *legionum*. — **Raetiam**: in addition to Raetia proper, i.e., the Tyrol, this province included southern Bavaria, and its conquest dates from B.C. 15, Tiberius and Drusus having accomplished the work of subjugation. — **Suebos**: here the Marcomanic kingdom of [Maroboduus in southern Germany. The Suebi comprised several tribes in Tacitus's time extending from the Baltic to the Danube. — **ceterum** = *re vera autem, but in reality*. 1. 10. 1, *ceterum*.

7. **Centurionatum**: an election of centurions, to fill the vacancies of those dismissed or killed. The word is rare, being only elsewhere found in Valerius Maximus (3. 2. 23, *centurionatus honore*) and in an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X, 1, 3340) of the

time of the Antonines. — *dona militaria*: decorations, such as *torques*, *corona*, etc. Cf. 3. 21. 3, *torquibus et hasta*. *Caesar addidit civicam coronam*, etc. — *edebat*: understand *quisque* as antecedent to the subject of *fecisset* and *is* as antecedent of *qui*.

8. *avaritiam*: i.e., in selling furloughs (*vacationes*). See 1. 17. 6. — *objectavissent*: subjunctive of repeated action, or general condition, which after Cicero's time is frequently expressed by this mood (Intro. § 34 (a)). Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 192. Madvig, *Lat. Gram.* § 359. — *solvebatur*: this implies a dishonorable discharge (*missio ignominiosa*).

45. 1. *Vetera*: sc. *castra*. The full name is recorded in Hist. 4. 21. 1 and 5. 14. 1. The place has been identified with Fürstenberg near Xanten, on the left bank of the Rhine below Wesel, where remains are still found.

3. *arma*: the legions (1st and 20th); *arma* is here equivalent to *militēs* as in 1. 3. — *classem*: probably a flotilla for temporary use on the river. There was a standing German fleet of seaworthy ships in the time of Drusus (Suet., Claud. 1; Florus 4. 12. 26). — *socios*: the auxiliaries probably numbered as many as the legionaries.

46. 1. *invalida et inermia*: the weak and helpless party; neuter substantives in apposition with *patres et plebem*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 30. — *dissideat*: *mutinies*; the word literally means to sit apart, to disagree.

2. *cessuris*: see 1. 31. 1, *tracturis*, note. — *severitatis . . . summum*: with supreme power of punishment and reward; in reference to his official power rather than his character. The use of the objective genitive after *summum* is characteristic.

3. *An Augustum*, etc.: the statement is not in accord with the facts. For Augustus is not known to have made any expedition into Germany or Gaul after those of B.C. 16 and 8, when he was forty-six and fifty-four years of age respectively. Tiberius was now fifty-six. Hence the contrast in their ages is here clearly misleading, and the statement must therefore be a rhetorical exaggeration. Translate: *What? Could Augustus in his advanced age go back and forth into Germany so often, and is Tiberius, still vigorous of age, to sit supinely in the senate, quibbling at the words of the senators?*

4. *fomenta*: warm applications, alleviations. — *pacem*: sarcastic-

ally contrasted with *servituti*. The implication is, now that the free State has accepted a state of servitude, the army should be taught to acquiesce and accept the peace.

47. 1. *Immotum . . . fixumque*: an imitation of Vergil, Aen. 4. 15, *fixum immotumque*. Draeger (*Syntax und Stil* § 259) and Wölfflin (*Philologus* XXVI, 122) give a full list of Tacitus's imitations of Sallust, Livy and Vergil. — *omittere*: to let remain unprotected. Cf. 1. 28. 9; 1. 36. 2. — *caput rerum*: i.e., Rome. Cf. 3. 47. 2, *omissa urbe*; Hist. 2. 32. 5, *Italiam et caput rerum urbem*, etc.

2. *subnixus*: relied upon, was supported by. Cf. 1. 11. 3, *inlustribus viris subnixa*; 11. 1. 2, *validis propinquitatibus subnixus*. — *quos*: used here for *utros*, which usage occurs occasionally even in the classic authors, as Nipperdey shows. — *ac ne . . . incenderentur*: the *ne*-clause depends upon the idea of fearing involved in *angebant*.

3. *pariter*: both armies had been visited by a son of the emperor, so that they were treated alike in this respect.

4. *excusatum*: excusable; a rare post-Augustan use. Cf. 3. 68. 1; Pliny, Ep. 4. 5. 4, *quo sit excusatus*.

5. *ut . . . iturus*: after analogy of the Greek *ὡς* with a participle, a construction not found with the future participle in Sallust, rare in Cicero and Caesar, but frequent in Livy and silver writers. (Draeger.) Cf. 4. 33. 6, *ut . . . arguens*; Hist. 2. 58. 4, *ut . . . positurus*; 3. 68. 4, *ut . . . transmissurus*. See Introd. § 35 (c). — *iam iamque*: as he was on the very eve of his departure; emphatic. — *legit . . . conquisivit . . . adornavit*: note the asyndeta, so characteristic of Tacitus in lively narrative, where he frequently uses the historical infinitive (see 2. 31. 1). See Introd. § 37; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 133–138. — *causatus*: pretending, pleading. Cf. 13. 44. 2, *adversam patris voluntatem causari*; Hist. 3. 59, *Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae valetudinem causabatur*. — *vulgum*: this accusative of *vulgus* occurs occasionally in Tacitus (3. 76. 2; 4. 14. 4; 6. 44. 1) as well as in earlier writers, such as Lucretius, Vergil and Livy.

48. 1. *si . . . consulerent*: subjunctive by attraction, representing an ideal condition with *dandum . . . spatium* as apodosis. It was deemed wise to give the two legions quartered at *Vetera* time to decide to follow the example of the 1st and 20th legions. — *ad Caecinam*: Caecina, the commander of this army, must have gone

to *Vetera* from *civitas Ubiorum* whither he had led the two other legions (see chapters 37–44). — **praesumant**: poetic and occurring only in post-Augustan prose.

2. **aquiliferis signiferisque**: both selected from the ranks for their reliability. Each legion had an *aquilifer* and each maniple a *signifer*, who were chosen by Caccina on this occasion as the next officers in rank, to take the place of the slain centurions. — **infamiae**: Tacitus generally uses the dative with *eximo*, after the example of the poets and post-Augustan writers. — **causas et merita**: *excuses and services*.

4. **trucidant**: it is surprising that Germanicus should have found it in his kindly nature to connive at such brutal punishment.

49. 1. **Diversa omnium**: *different from all this*. Furneaux takes this genitive to be a Graecism like that found often in Horace with words expressing separation. Some editors regard *diversa* as equivalent to *dissimilis* (*unlike all this*). — **facies**: *appearance*; see 1. 41. 1, *facies*, note.

2. **discedunt in partes**: Nipperdey thinks that these words are brought into harmony with the above *non proelio, non adversis e castris* only by zeugma through the general idea of separating. — **cetera**: *as for the rest*.

3. **arma rapuerant**: an echo of Vergil (Aen. 7. 340; 8. 220). Cf. 2. 19. 2, *arma rapiunt*.

4. **illud**: Tacitus not infrequently employs a pronoun in the neuter where normal prose requires the gender to be the same as that of the noun (attraction). This usage seems of poetic origin. Cf. Verg., Aen. 3. 173, *nec sopor illud erat*.

5. **Truces**: emphatic, as indicated by position; *etiam tum* is to be closely taken with *truces*. — **animos cupido involat**: for *involare* with the accusative see Hist. 4. 33. 2, *adeoque improvisi castra involavere*, etc. Draeger calls this ἀπ᾿αὖ λεγόμενον.

6. **e legionibus**: the four legions of the army of Lower Germany. The normal strength of a legion was 6,000 men, so that this selected body was equivalent to two legions. — **cohortis**: the auxiliary troops were organized in cohorts, not legions, and they seem not to have taken part in the mutiny. — **alas**: these also were auxiliary troops, those of the cavalry. — **quarum**: refers to both *cohortis* and *alas*.

50. 1. **agitabant** = *degebant*; of frequent occurrence in Tacitus

as in Sallust, in this sense. Cf. 4. 46. 1, *qui . . . agitabant*; 11. 21. 2, *dum . . . agitat*.

2. **Romanus**: collective. — **silvam Caesiam**: some editors trace the name of this forest to Coesfeld, north of the Lippe. Others, with greater probability, identify it with *Haesiam* which survives in Heisingen, a village near Essen. — **limitem**: this *limes* was probably a day's march from the camp at *Vetera*. The Roman *limes* was an artificially constructed boundary in contrast with natural boundaries like rivers and mountain ranges, being a belt of considerable width defended by earthworks, ditches, masonry and redoubts. It was capable of being crossed only at certain points corresponding to bridges over a river. Nothing is known of this particular *limes*. Some think that it was perhaps laid out by Tiberius when he took command of the troops in this region after the defeat of Varus, as a defense against the insurgent Germans. See Mommsen, *The Roman Provinces* I, 132; Merivale, *History of the Romans* IV, 278. — **coeptum**: *laid out*. Cf. 11. 1. 1, *hortis in hians quos ille a Lucullo coeptos insigni magnificentia extollebat*. — **scindit**: *passes through, cuts through*. — **in limite**: the *limes*, being a narrow fortified strip, seems to have served as a site for the camp, which probably was made longer and narrower than usual. Since the camp was protected by the fortification of the *limes* in front and in the rear, it needed a rampart on the flanks only. — **frontem**: Tacitus is fond of this Greek accusative construction (Intro. § 7). — **concaedibus**: *barricades of felled trees, "abattis,"* erected as a defense for the flanks of the camp. The word is rare, being found elsewhere only in Vegetius (Mil. 3. 22) and Ammianus (16. 12. 15; 17. 10. 6; etc.).

3. **incautum**: *dangerous, unguarded*; poetic in this sense, but found in Livy (25. 38. 14, *quod neglexeris incautum atque apertum habeas*).

4. **festam eam**, etc.: *that festive night of games with the customary banquet*. Tacitus mentions the great national games of the Germans in his *Germania* (24. 1, *Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes quibus id ludicrum est inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt*, etc.).

5. **obstantia silvarum**: Tacitus makes frequent use of the genitive of partition after the neuter plural of adjectives used abstractly. See Intro. § 20 (c).

6. **Marsorum**: this tribe is incidentally mentioned in the *Germania* as among the *vera et antiqua nomina* (2. 4), but in the *Annals* as one of the chief peoples in western Germany, neighbors of the Chatti (1. 56. 7; 2. 25. 2). They dwelt in the interior between the Lippe and the Ruhr. Strabo (7. 1. 3. 290) also mentions this tribe among those that retreated into the interior before the advancing Romans. Nipperdey suggests that the Marsi perhaps were an aggregation of some tribes like those mentioned in *Germania* (34. 1) which had been dissolved by Tacitus's time. — **stratis**: sc. *Germanis*; ablative absolute. See Introd. § 28 (b).

7. **disiecta**: *disorganized*. Cf. 2. 45. 3, *disiectas per catervas*. — **ac ne pax quidem**: *and even their peace was the listless and careless sort characteristic of the drunken; inter temulentos* (= *cum temulenti essent*) occurs in Hist. 1. 1. 2; 2. 92. 2; etc.

51. 1. **cuneos**: *columns*, a formation far better adapted for battle than for the march. The term is used ordinarily to describe a wedge-shaped column for focusing the javelins upon a given position in battle. On the present occasion, which was for plunder and slaughter, the formation must have been an ordinary column. The four *cunei* here probably corresponded to the four legions. Knoke suggests that the area of fifty miles devastated included the four valleys of the Upper Ruhr and its chief tributaries. He also thinks that the point reached by Germanicus was the vicinity of Herdecke on the Ruhr and that Germanicus followed the Lippe east for two days when he turned abruptly to the south. See Knoke, *Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland*, 1887.

2. **Non sexus**, etc.: Germanicus is supposed to have adopted such savage and extreme measures for revenge for the defeat of Varus. Elsewhere he is represented as being lenient to his enemies (2. 72. 3). **templum**: this must have been a consecrated grove containing an altar, as the Germans had no temples (Germ. 9. 3). Tacitus, however, mentions a temple of Nerthus (*ib.* 40. 4), but perhaps he meant to signify simply a consecrated grove after the Roman conception of *templum*, not an actual building (*aedes*). — **Tamfanae**: nothing is known of the attributes of this deity. Nipperdey cites *Zanfana sentit morgane feiziu scaf cleiniu* (*Zanfana sendet morgen kleine feiste schafe*), an old German verse of the ninth or tenth century.

3. **semisomnos**, etc.: denoting the three conditions of the enemy.

4. **Bructeros**: this tribe, divided into Greater and Lesser Bructeri, dwelt between the Lippe and the Ems. Though reduced by Tiberius, they rose against Varus and captured one of his eagles in the Teutoburg Forest (see 1. 60. 4). — **Tubantes**: Tacitus does not mention this tribe in the *Germania*. The tribe dwelt originally near the Yssel, whence it migrated to the south of the Ruhr. Cf. 13. 55. 5; 13. 56. 6. — **Usipetes**: elsewhere called Usipi (13. 55. 5; 13. 56. 6), this tribe was closely associated with the Tencteri, both of whom are mentioned together in the *Germania* (32. 1). These two tribes lived along the Rhine, north of the Lippe. The Usipi furnished a cohort to the army of Britain in Domitian's time (Agric. 28. 1). — **gnarum** = *notum*, as in 1. 5. 4. — **itineri et proelio**: for *marching and fighting*. Tacitus makes frequent use of this dative of purpose. Cf. 1. 23. 6, *morti*, note.

5. **ducebant**: used absolutely.

6. **porrigeretur**: refers here to the extending of the columns in file. — **latera et frontem**: the sole instance of the accusative after *adsultare*; elsewhere Tacitus uses the dative (2. 13. 4, *adsultatum est castris*). He is especially fond of the use of the accusative after compound verbs in general. See Introd. § 10.

7. **illud tempus**: *the desired opportunity* (see chapter 49. 5).

9. **fidensque recentibus**: *relying upon their late services*; *fido* is always followed by the dative in Tacitus. Cf. 2. 65. 6, *innocentiae fidere*; 3. 56. 4, *magnitudini fidebat*.

52. 1. **quaesivisset**: the subject is *Germanicus* to be supplied from *Germanici* which follows. The mood is the subjunctive of partial obliquity. Tiberius was vexed because he felt that he had been compromised somewhat by Germanicus's exploits. — **bellica . . . gloria**: the popularity of Germanicus with all classes, no doubt, contributed to magnify at Rome his achievements in Germany. This proved a source of vexation to the spirit of Tiberius. See Introd., art. Germanicus.

2. **Rettulit tamen ad senatum**: *yet he laid the matter before the senate for action*. This was quite in keeping with the practice of Tiberius, who would lay before the senate matters not strictly within the province of that body. However, the present instance might have been with a view to the triumph voted the following year (see 1. 55. 1). — **in speciem**: Tacitus is very fond of using in

with the accusative to express the effect intended (Intro. § 9). Cf. 2. 6. 3, *in speciem ac terrorem*; 3. 56. 6, *in falsum*; 4. 45. 1, *in mortem*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 80 b.

3. **intentior**: *with greater earnestness*. Cf. 3. 35. 2, *intentius*. — **fida**: *guileless, sincere*. The application of this adjective to inanimate objects and abstracts is poetic and post-Augustan. (Lewis and Short.) Drusus had perhaps shown more tact and resolution in suppressing the mutiny than Germanicus had (Vell. Pat. 2. 125). — **indulserat**: *had granted*; this active use is confined chiefly to writers of the silver age. — **exercitus**: plural as being equivalent to *legiones*. Cf. 3. 12. 6; 4. 47. 1.

53. 1. Julia: the only child of Augustus by Scribonia. She was first married, at the age of fourteen, to Marcellus, then to Agrippa (the offspring of this later union was Agrippina) and later to Tiberius (Intro., art. Tiberius). She was notorious for her vices, a woman of rare beauty, brilliance and charm. She was about fifty-three years of age when she died, the last fifteen years of her life being spent in exile because of her vices. — **Pandateria**: now called Vandotena, situated in the gulf of Gaeta, somewhat north of the bay of Naples. Julia was kept here five years before her transfer to *Regium*. — **Reginorum**: modern Reggio (*Regium*), situated on the lowest point of Italy opposite Sicily. Exiles were sometimes confined to the limits of a certain town, sometimes to an island. Allen notes that the mention of the people instead of the town is a survival of the primitive political conception by which the organized community is the fundamental institution, the city or territory occupied by them being only secondary.

2. **inparem**: *as not her equal*. Though Tiberius was of a much better family than Agrippa, Julia's former husband, Tiberius did not rank as high in the councils of the state and was not yet adopted into the imperial family. Her sons by Agrippa, too, being already adopted into the imperial family, were elevated above Tiberius in rank. For these reasons she held him in apparent contempt.

3. **Postumum Agrippam**: Julia's youngest son, whose death removed all her hope of recovering her liberty. See 1. 6. 1, *Postumi Agrippae*, note. — **inopia ac tæbe longa**: Suetonius (Tib. 50) says that after the death of Augustus Tiberius increased the burden of Julia's banishment by withdrawing her annual allowance and the

private property given her by her father (*peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudavit*). But he elsewhere (Tib. 11) says that Tiberius acted with generosity toward Julia after his divorce from her, interceding with Augustus in her behalf and leaving her whatever he had given her, to mitigate the privations of her exile.—*longinquitate exilii*: on account of the duration of her exile. She had been so long forgotten at Rome that her death elicited no curiosity or comment.

4. **Sempronium Gracchum**: Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the adulterer. See 4. 12. 4. — **prave facundus**: eloquent, but vicious; note the variety of expression in this passage. — **temeraverat**: had disgraced; a poetical word introduced into prose by Livy (26. 13. 13). Cf. 1. 30. 3, *castra infausta temerataque*.

6. **Cercinam**: the modern Kerkena islands in the Lesser Syrtis. — **quattuordecim annis**: a rare ablative of time throughout which (Intro. § 26; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 58). Cf. 3. 28. 3, *triumviratu*; 6. 11. 3, *bellis civilibus*. The difference of a year between his banishment and Julia's, editors explain on the supposition that he was tribune of the people at the time of the sentence (Dio, 55. 10. 15) and therefore his punishment was postponed till the end of his term of office.

8. **vita**: ablative of manner, like *constantia* above.

9. **L. Asprenate**: Asprenas was consul suffectus in A.D. 6. He is mentioned in some inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI. 1371; VIII. 10018, 10023). — **speraverat**: the indicative shows that this is the opinion of Tacitus and not that of his authorities, which would be expressed by the subjunctive.

54. 1. **sodalium Augustalium**: a college of twenty-one leading members of the state established in honor of Julius, Augustus, and later Livia and Claudius. Subsequently the membership was increased to twenty-eight by the addition of certain members of the imperial family, and the college ranked with the great priestly colleges. The seat of their cult was *Bovillae*, about twelve miles from Rome, the original home of the Julian gens. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 469 foll. Cf. 2. 41. 1, *sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur*; 3. 64. 3, *sodalibus Augustalibus*. — **sodales Titios**: a very old sacred college reputed to have been founded by Romulus in honor of Tatius (see

Hist. 2. 95. 3). But little is known of the rites of this priesthood. The name is associated with the patrician tribe of the *Titienses*, and it is commonly supposed that the brotherhood had the special duty of preserving the sacred rites of the Sabines with whom the *Titienses* are identified (Seeley, *Historical Examination of Livy I*, pp. 37 and 72). See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung III*, 446.

2. **Claudius . . . adiciuntur**: these were added as honorary members of the college. Claudius was the younger brother of Germanicus and emperor from A.D. 41 to 54. The addition of Claudius is remarkable, since he was not strictly a member of the Julian family.

3. **Ludos**: see 1. 15. 3, *Augustales*. On the present occasion the games were interrupted by one of the actors demanding higher pay (*discordia*), and the tribunes were compelled, on the endorsement of the demand by the people, to convene the senate on the same day to authorize the increase (Dio, 56. 47. 2). — **histrionum**: the *pantomimes*. The development of the mime at this time had gone so far as almost to restrict the term *histrion* to the actor in this type of the drama, all other forms of the drama being outstripped. This resulted through the success of such actors as Bathyllus, Pylades and Hylas, who devoted themselves to the art of representing characters by dumb-show. — **dum obtemperat**: Tacitus frequently employs this temporal conjunction in a causal sense, as here, a construction which finds scant warrant in Ciceronian usage. Cf. 1. 23. 6, *dum . . . deposcit*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 168. — **Bathylli**: a freedman and client of Maecenas. He and Pylades his rival so developed the mime as to be regarded as the inventors of this branch of the drama. — **talibus studiis**: ablative after *abhorrebat*, though some take it as dative. Either construction is post-classical. (Draeger.) Cf. 14. 21. 2, *abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis*.

4. **Alia Tiberio . . . via**: *Tiberius's character developed in a different direction*. — **habitum**: held in check, restrained. — **ad duriora**: into harsher channels, into more shameless courses.

55. 1. **Druso Caesare C. Norbano**: these were the consuls of the year A.D. 15. In imperial times, it was usual for the consuls to hold office only half a year, that thereby the number might be increased of those qualified for such offices as were reserved for the

governorships of provinces like Africa, Britain, etc. The custom was not strictly observed in the reign of Tiberius. The first pair of consuls for each year enjoyed the distinction of having the year designated in their honor and were of course eponymous. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 82. — **triumphus**: this triumph was celebrated two years later (see 2. 41. 2). — **manente bello**: it was quite exceptional, but not unprecedented, to vote a triumph before the conclusion of the war. However, at the time of the celebration of this triumph the war was considered practically concluded (2. 41. 3). — **initio veris**, etc.: note the contrast here between *initio veris* and *in aestatem*, on the one hand, and *summa ope* and *repetino excursu*, on the other. It is quite in keeping with Tacitus's style to use *et* in such an unusual manner as a connective. (Nipperdey.) Cf. 1. 29. 1, *orto die et vocata contione*. — **Chattos**: this was reputed the most powerful tribe of western Germany, their territory forming part of the Hercynian Forest. (See Germ. 30–31.) The tribe was implacably hostile to the Romans. Their descendants are believed to be the modern Hessians. The campaign against them was merely preliminary to the vigorous expedition against their enemies, the Cherusci. — **praecepit**: *hastened in advance, anticipated*. Cf. 2. 35. 3, *quae speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat*.

2. **dissidere**, etc.: *were divided into two factions; one of Arminius and the other of Segestes*. The verb is here used absolutely. Cf. 1. 46. 1: *Dissideat interim miles*; Pliny, N. H. 10. 203, *Dissident olores et aquilae*. — **Arminius**: the German national hero (*Hermann*), who led the uprising against the Romans and defeated Varus, A.D. 9. He had once served in the Roman army, attaining equestrian rank and being granted Roman citizenship. (Vell. Pater. 2. 118. 2.) He seems to have been the son of Segimerus of the royal race of the Cherusci and had a son Italicus. For facts about his family and character, see chapters 57–58 and 2. 88. See also Hübner, *Hermes* X, 393–407. — **Segestes**: little is known of this German leader who proved loyal to Rome. He had a brother Segimerus (1. 71. 1) and a son Segimundus (1. 57. 2 and 58. 7). See also chapter 59. — **perfidia in nos aut fide**: *the one for treachery, the other for loyalty to us*. For *aut* in this sense see 2. 46. 3, *pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate*; also 3. 63. 6, *Dianam aut *Apollinem*.

3. Arminius: *sc. erat.* — *et:* especially. — *itum:* *sc. est.* — *proceres:* nobles. — *principibus* = *proceribus* here, though the term usually means German magistrates rather than nobles. — *ipsi:* i.e., Varus. — *crimina et innoxios:* the guilty and the innocent. Note Tacitus's characteristic disregard of parallelism and the interchange of persons and things (Intro. § 41). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 233.

4. fato et vi: note the Roman conception of fate as illustrated by Varus's blindness, and the contrast with the military power of Rome by which Arminius was crushed. — *quamquam . . . tractus:* this construction is confined chiefly to poetry and prose of the silver age (Intro. § 35). — *consensu gentis:* it appears that Segestes was opposed to the war, but was drawn into it against his better judgment by the unanimous desire of his people. — *filiam:* i.e., Thusnelda. Cf. 1. 57. 5. — *inimici soceri:* Halm takes the words as nominative plural, assuming that the father of Arminius is the Segimerus mentioned by Dio (56. 19. 2) as taking part in the rebellion and that he and Segestes were enemies. But Segimerus was probably dead. At all events it is unnecessary to draw him in. The more satisfactory interpretation is to take these words as genitive and, despite the tautology, to assume that *invisi* and *inimici* express different degrees and perhaps different stages of enmity. *Inimici* may indicate a general attitude of enmity on the part of Segestes toward Arminius for political reasons, while *invisus* refers to Segestes's special dislike for Arminius because of his elopement with Segestes's daughter. In keeping with this view Nipperdey takes *apud infensos*, in the next sentence, as answering to *inimici* and *incitamenta irarum* as answering to *invisus*.

56. 1. tumultuarias: hurriedly raised; frequently applied to troops levied in an emergency. — *Caecinae:* the special service required of this officer, as indicated below, was to advance with the army of Lower Germany along the route of Germanicus of the year before, between the Ruhr and the Lippe. Cf. chapters 50 and 51. — *totidem legiones:* the four legions of Upper Germany. See 1. 37. 4. Their legate Silius is not mentioned, Germanicus himself having this special command. — *paterni praesidii:* Drusus had built this fort on Mt. Taunus. — *Monte Tauno:* this is a high tract between Wiesbaden and Homburg, running parallel to the Main and north

of it from the Rhine to the Nidda. — **L. Apronio**: this legate was consul in A.D. 8, and was voted a triumph this year (see 1. 72. 1). He seems to have served in Africa about A.D. 20 (3. 21. 1) and in Lower Germany about A.D. 28 (4. 73. 1; 6. 30. 3).

2. **rarum illi caelo**: this must have been a very dry season for the march to be uninterrupted (*inoffensum*). Elsewhere Tacitus, speaking of the soil and climate of Germany, says (Germ. 5. 1, *Terra . . . aut paludibus foeda, humidior qua Gallias*, etc.). — **regredienti**: on his return; dative of reference.

4. **Adranam**: the Eder. This river flowing in a northeasterly course empties into the Fulda which itself empties into the Weser, near Cassel.

5. **tormentis**: engines for hurling missiles. Of these there were two kinds — *catapulta* which, like a mighty cross-bow, was used to hurl darts even four and a half feet long, and *ballista* which shot heavy stones and rocks, sometimes to a distance of a quarter of a mile. These engines were generally used in conjunction. See Harper's Dict. of Class. Antiq. — **pagis vicisque**: cantons and villages. After Caesar the terms came to be applied to definite local districts of Gaul and Germany like the English "shire" and "township." Cf. Germ. 12. 3, *qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt*.

6. **Mattio**: this place was presumably north of the Eder and the name reappears in that of the *Mattioci*, who inhabited the modern Nassau in the days of Tacitus (cf. Germ. 29), *Mattiacum* being their principal city. Furneaux would identify this with Marburg on the Lahn. — **vertit**: note the characteristic Tacitean use of this simple verb for the usual *revertit*, returned (Introd. § 30). — **illi**: dative of possession, referring to *hoste*. — **moris**: sc. *est*; which is their custom. — **quotiens . . . cessit**: whenever they fled from craft rather than from fear; *astu* occurs only in the ablative as an adverb till the post-Augustan period.

7. **Cheruscis**: this once powerful tribe, the head of the German uprising against Roman rule from Varus's defeat to Arminius's death, dwelt to the northeast of the Chatti, in modern Hanover. They were conquered by the Chatti and in Tacitus's time had lost their prestige for power, though once reputed the most powerful of the German tribes (Germ. 36). — **huc illuc**: for the more common classical *huc atque illuc* (see Agric. 10).

57. 1. validiore: *of greater influence.* — **promptus . . . magis fidus:** Tacitus usually omits the correlative *eo* or *tanto* in clauses of comparison. See *Introd.* § 37.

2. conscientia: *consciousness of guilt;* causal ablative. Cf. 1. 39. 3. — **Quippe:** *for in fact;* a corroborative particle frequently used to introduce a fact given as a reason or cause, and equivalent to *enim*. — **Germaniae:** plural after the analogy of *Galliae*, indicating the parts of Germany subject to Rome. — **aram Ubiorum:** from the choice of the Cheruscan Segimundus, a native German, as priest, it would appear that the altar, perhaps dedicated to Augustus and Roma, was designed to establish firmly this cult and to foster a recognition of Roman sovereignty, so that it might prove both a religious and political center for both divisions of Germany, Upper and Lower, just as *Lugdunum* was for Gaul or *Camulodunum* was later for Britain. — **ruperat vittas:** as if to show that he renounced his Roman service.

3. benigneque exceptus cum praesidio: *and being graciously received, he was conducted under guard,* etc. He was treated as a prisoner and was exhibited in Germanicus's triumphal procession (*Strabo*, 7. 1. 4. 291).

4. pretium fuit: *sc. operae.* Tacitus appears to stand alone in the use of this abridged form of *pretium operae* (*worth while*). Cf. 2. 35. 1; *Hist.* 3. 8. 2. — **convertere:** he was marching back to the Rhine (see 56. 6) and made a detour into the territory of the enemy. — **obsidentis:** *sc. Segestem.* — **clientium:** the retinue of a German prince, described in the *Germania* 13 and 14. The relation of a Roman patron to his clients bore some resemblance to that of a German prince to his personal following (*comites*).

5. uxor Arminii: her name was Thusnelda, according to *Strabo* (7. 1. 4. 292). She had a son Thumelicus by name. — **animo:** ablative of quality, with the limiting genitive as the equivalent of a qualifying adjective. — **evicta in lacrimas:** *subdued to tears,* indicating the result, which Tacitus not infrequently expresses by *in* with the accusative (*Introd.* § 36 (c)).

6. spolia: standards, such as the eagles, weapons, etc. — **data:** at the time of their defeat of Varus. — **bonae societatis:** *of his steadfast fidelity.* Cf. *bona fides*.

58. 2. ex vestris utilitatibus: *according to your interests.* Cf.

ex sententia, ex more. — *conducere*: dependent upon *probabam*, by zeugma (Introd. § 40. 2).

4. *illa nox*: i.e., the night of the banquet.

5. *Quae secuta sunt*: i.e., in reference to his share in the attack upon Varus.

6. *tui copia*: *access to you.* — *antehabeo*: a rare word: occurs elsewhere only in 4. 11. 5. — *me perfidia exsolvam*: *exonerate myself from bad faith.* Cf. 1. 55. 4. — *paenitentiam quam perniciem*: note the alliteration, which is a common rhetorical device, much used in the *Agricola* and the *Germania*.

8. *vetere in provincia*: the side of the Rhine toward Italy, which as a Roman province dated from the time of Julius Caesar.

9. *nomen imperatoris*: in republican times this title was bestowed by soldiers upon a victorious general. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1155. Now it was an honor conferred by the senate at the instance of the emperor, as the words *auctore Tiberio* indicate. It is thought that this was the second occasion on which Germanicus had received this special honor. — *ludibrio*: it is not known of what character this mockery consisted. — *in tempore memorabo*: *I shall mention at a suitable time.* It is thought this mention was made in some lost part of this work, for from the mention of this son of Arminius made in 11. 16. 1 it would appear as if he were already dead.

59. 1. *dediti . . . vulgata*, etc.: such a combination of a substantive with a participle where the English idiom requires an abstract or verbal noun is quite common in Tacitus (Introd. § 35 (d)). Cf. 1. 8. 7, *cum occisus dictator Caesar*, etc. — *invitis aut cupientibus*: a dative construction that is after the analogy of the Greek idiom (Introd. § 13). Translate: *according as each was opposed to war or desired it.* — *spe vel dolore*: cf. 1. 68. 4, *clamore et impetu*; 2. 80. 6, *ordinibus ac subsidiis*. Tacitus employs the ablative of manner without an adjective (Introd. § 27). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 60.

2. *super insitam violentiam*: *besides a temper naturally violent.* Cf. 3. 63. 3, *super eas civitates*, etc.

3. *egregium patrem*: accusative of exclamation. Cf. Vergil, 4. 93, *egregiam vero laudem*, etc.

4. *Sibi*: *before him*; dative of advantage. See Draeger, *Syntax*

und Stil § 49. Cf. 1. 71. 5, *cura sibi que et proelio firmabat*; Hist. 4. 17. 6, *quibus . . . legiones procubuerunt*. — **tres legiones**: those that fell in the defeat of Varus, viz., the 17th, 18th and 19th legions.

6. **victam ripam**: the bank of the Rhine toward Rome, i.e., the left bank. — **sacerdotium hominum**: indicates bitter contempt, since the Germans worshipped the gods only (*dis patriis*); the Romans, men. See Crit. App. — **virgas et secures**: the rods and axes; which symbolized Roman authority. The axe projected from the end of the fasces or bundle of rods. — **togam**: the toga was the Roman garment worn in civil life only, and therefore the employment of this word would tend to imply an organized government set up after a complete subjugation of the country.

7. **Aliis gentibus . . . tributa**: to other nations, from their lack of acquaintance with the Roman empire, penalties were untried and tortures unknown. — **inritus**: without accomplishing his purpose. — **dicatus**: rarely used of deification of persons. — **delectus**: chosen; i.e., to succeed Augustus as *princeps*. Nipperdey observes the word is used ironically. Cf. 1. 7. 10. — **adulescentulum**: Germanicus's age was almost the same as that of Arminius, but the famous hero of the Teutoburg Forest had had a much fuller experience in war than had Germanicus.

8. **novas**: in contrast with *antiqua*. Some editors think that the implied contrast with *patriam* indicates that the colonies referred to are such as might be removed to Roman soil, like the Ubii, and not such as the Romans might found on German soil.

60. 1. **non modo . . . sed**: the omission of *etiam* is rare in Cicero, but common from Livy's time on. Cf. 1. 77. 1; 1. 81. 1. — **in partis**: into the confederacy. — **Inguiomerus**: mentioned also elsewhere (1. 68. 1; 2. 17. 8; 2. 45. 2). — **vetere apud Romanos auctoritate**: of long continued influence among the Romans.

2. **mole una**: with full force. — **quadraginta cohortibus Romanis**: equivalent to four entire legions, viz., those of Lower Germany, Germanicus having the other four. — **hosti**: Tacitus employs this dative with the gerundive of work contemplated with increasing frequency, so that it is regarded a characteristic of his style (Introd. § 16). Cf. 2. 1. 2, *firmandae amicitiae miserat*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 206 B (a). — **per Bructeros**: this Germanic tribe occupied the territory lying between the Lippe and the Ems. Cae-

cina's route was probably across the Lippe, through Westphalia. Cf. 1. 51. 4, *Bructeros*. — *praefectus*: sc. *equitum*. — *Pedo*: probably Pedo Albinovanus, who composed a poem on the expeditions of Germanicus. Fragments of this poem are preserved by Seneca (*Suasor.* 1. 15) and read as follows: "*illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis || qui ferat, Oceanum, qui saevas undique pristis || aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.*" — *finibus*: along the confines; local ablative. — *Frisiorum*: this tribe dwelt along the North Sea from the Rhine to the Ems. The territory corresponded largely to Holland, and part of it is still called Friesland, after the ancient Frisii. Tacitus mentions them as being divided into *maiores* and *minores* (*Germ.* 34. 1).

3. *per lacus*: the lagoons along the coast. The succession of inundations there in the thirteenth century submerged great stretches of the lowlands and converted the many small sheets of water into a vast gulf, the Zuyder Zee. — *pedes, eques, classis*, etc.: the infantry under Caecina, the cavalry under Pedo and the fleet under the command of Germanicus, each by a different route, met upon the Ems (*apud praedictum amnem*), at a point probably near the Rhine, or as some think, lower down the Ems, perhaps at its mouth. Germanicus by ship might well have effected a junction here with the foot and horse that had to march across the low marshy country. — *praedictum*: appointed. Cf. 2. 6. 4, *Insula . . . praedicta*. Some editors take the word in the sense *before mentioned*, citing Livy 10. 14. 7, *ad praedictas hostium latebras succedit*. — *Chauci*: see 1. 38. 1, note.

4. *L. Stertinius*: frequently mentioned during these expeditions as a leader of cavalry. Cf. 1. 71. 1; 2. 8. 4; 2. 11. 4; 2. 17. 1; etc. — *undevicensimae legionis aquilam*: this passage identifies one of the three legions lost with Varus. The recovery of the second eagle is recorded in 2. 25; and that of the third, discovered in the time of Claudius, in 2. 41.

5. *agmen*: the reference is not to the advance guard of Stertinius, who probably was engaged with the Bructeri, but to the army of Germanicus, who probably followed the Ems in a southeasterly course. — *inter*: Tacitus is remarkably fond of anastrophe of prepositions in the *Annals*. The preposition is placed with poetical freedom after two coördinate substantives. Cf. 4. 8. 7, *coram*;

4. 55. 3, *simul*. See Introd. § 39. 2; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 225. — *Teutoburgiensi saltu*: the identification of this forest signalized as the scene of Varus's defeat remains still very uncertain, despite the research and investigation bestowed upon the subject. It is believed that the summer camp of Varus must have been somewhere near the junction of the Werra and the Weser, from which he might safely have retreated to *Vetera* by way of *Aliso* (see 2. 7. 5). But it would appear that by strategy of the Germans he was forced to take another route which lay through a region of forest and marsh, with the result that the Roman legions were surprised and utterly routed. Now the scene of this memorable defeat might be anywhere between the middle Weser and the Ems. Several localities have been suggested and advocated with more or less plausibility. Knoke (*Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus*, Berlin, 1887) argues for the valley entered by the Dören Pass south of Osnaburg. Some others who have investigated the subject would place the battlefield in a locality near Detmold and the Osning. Allen concurs in the opinion of Essellen (*Das varianische Schlachtfeldt im Kriese Beckum*) and holds that the most probable locality was that between Beckum and the Lippe. Mommsen in his writings upon the subject advocates a site near Barenau, north of Osna-brück, where many Roman coins of no later date than B.C. 1 have been found. No one of these views has met with general acceptance and the site of the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest still remains unidentified. Knoke (*Gegenwärtiger Stand der Forschungen über die Römerkriege im nordwestlichen Deutschland*, Berlin, 1903) reviews the discussions of the subject, including those of Delbrück, Schuchardt and Dahm and others, but rejects them all in turn and reaffirms his theory, still arguing for the vicinity of Osnaburg. Knoke maintains that the fortification of *Aliso* was near Paderborn (about Elsen) where traces of a Roman camp have been found, and that in this vicinity the memorable defeat occurred. This view seems plausible and may be correct. (See Introd., art. Germanicus.)

61. 1. *omni qui aderat*: the entire army was now together, Stertinius (60. 4) having already joined him.

2. *saltuum*: partitive genitive after a neuter plural, like *paludum* after a neuter singular, *umido* below; — a construction quite characteristic of Tacitus's style (Introd. § 20). — *aggeres*: these must

have been roads roughly constructed through the marshes by throwing up embankments. — *locos*: the plural *loci* for *loca* is rare in writers of the classical period, though occurring in Livy and the poets.

3. *Prima Vari castra*: note that the order of description follows the retreat of Varus, from which circumstance Allen argues that Germanicus must have approached from the north the valley of the Ems. But the writer, as Furneaux suggests, may have adopted this order for pictorial effect. — *principiis*: the principal street or space running through the center of the camp, from which measurement the dimensions of the entire camp were determined. This central space separated the part which contained the officers' quarters, stores, etc., from the part which the troops occupied. The camp being laid out in definite proportions, the size of the army could be determined from the length of the *principia*. — *semiruto vallo*: *half-demolished rampart*; it is inferred from this that the second camp must have been hastily constructed, perhaps after the day's fighting. — *accisae*: *diminished, reduced*. Cf. Livy 6. 5. 2, *post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res*. — *medio campi*: the field beyond the second camp where the third and last day's fight occurred. Some editors take it as meaning the space between the camps. — *ut fugerant . . . vel aggerata*: *scattered or heaped up, according as they had retreated or made a stand*.

4. *fragmina*: poetical for the classical *fragmentum*. — *ora*: *human skulls*; some editors take it to mean the heads of horses offered in sacrifice.

5. *primorum ordinum centuriones*: those in command of the cohorts who ranked next to the tribunes. — *mactaverant*: the Germans are known to have offered human sacrifices to certain of their gods, according to Tacitus (Ger. 9. 1); and sometimes the entire conquered army was massacred in fulfillment of a vow (see 13. 57. 3).

6. *superstites*: some were rescued by Asprenas in command of the reserves, and some ransomed afterwards (Dio, 56. 22. 4). — *elapsi*: Tacitus alone seems to use the accusative with *elabi* (Introd. § 10). Cf. 4. 64. 4, *statuam vim ignium bis elapsam*. — *invenerit*: perfect after *referebant*, for vividness. Cf. 1. 76. 6; 6. 45. 5. — *patibula*: *gibbets*; *patibulum* signifies usually a fork-shaped yoke like

a cross, placed upon the back of a criminal, to which the hands were fastened. Here it signifies the gibbets erected for the captives. — *scrobes*: *trenches*; apparently for burying alive, since it is obvious that they did not take pains to bury the dead. Tacitus (Germ. 12. 1) tells us that the Germans buried cowards alive in bogs. — *per superbiam*: *in haughty scorn*.

62. 1. *qui aderat exercitus*: not an interpolation, but a rhetorical repetition from 61. 1, according to Nipperdey. — *sextum post cladis annum*: for the more common construction *sexto anno post cladem*.

2. *gratissimo . . . defunctos*: *a very acceptable service to the dead*, i.e., from the viewpoint of the soldiers; *munere* is an ablative of characteristic. — *socius*: note the inconcinnity (see Intro. § 41); *gratissimo munere* being contrasted with *doloris socius* and *in defunctos* with *praesentibus*. Incidentally one observes that the syntax of the entire passage is very loose.

3. *seu . . . trahenti*: *whether it was that he put a sinister interpretation upon every action of Germanicus*. Here Tacitus resorts to that formidable weapon of his, insinuation of motive, to discredit Tiberius by his subtle prejudice. — *formidolosiore*: with the rare passive sense, *more afraid*; here only with the objective genitive (Intro. § 21 (d)). This word does not occur in Cicero, at least in its passive sense of *timorous*. — *imperatorem . . . praeditum*: *that a general invested with the augurship and its very ancient religious rites*. — *adtrektare feralia*: *to touch the dead*. Suetonius states that he collected the remains with his own hands: *caesorum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumultu humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus aggressus est* (Cal. 3). Such an act polluted a person and much more did this pollute Germanicus, who had been specially consecrated as augur.

63. 1. *cedentem in avia*: *retreating into the wilderness*. Germanicus was trying to bring Arminius to a pitched battle, but the wily Arminius resorts to strategy, retiring into the wilderness where he hopes to surprise and overwhelm Germanicus as he had formerly done Varus. — *evehi*: *to charge*.

2. *colligi*: in a middle sense, *to collect themselves*. — *per saltus*: the forests, perhaps also marshy, where Arminius had masked his men.

3. **subsidiariae cohortes**: *the reserve cohorts*; just as the *equites* were; the legionary troops were brought into action only after the reserves had fallen back. — **gnaram vincentibus, inquam nesciis**: chiasmus; note the contrast, the Germans having an advantage from their familiarity with the ground, and the Romans being at a corresponding disadvantage from their ignorance of it. See Introd. § 39. 3; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 235.

4. **manibus aequis**: it is obvious that the Romans retired with greater loss than the Germans from this engagement.

5. **legiones . . . reportat**: there is an error here, since only two out of the eight legions were led back. Caecina's four legions returned to the Rhine direct and Publius Vitellius (70. 1) conducted his two legions by land, so that there were left only two legions for Germanicus to take back by ship. Müller (*Philologus*, XXX, 329) explains the discrepancy on the assumption that the four legions went in the fleet as far as the Frisian coast, where the ships were lightened by landing the legions under Vitellius. — **pars equitum**: the others were dispatched on an expedition in charge of Stertinius (71. 1). — **notis itineribus**: he did not retire by the same route as he had advanced by, from the Rhine to the Ems, viz., *per Bructeri* (60. 2), because the causeway was sadly in need of repairs (*ruptos vetustate*).

6. **L. Domitio**: the grandfather of Nero; his expedition occurred, probably, B.C. 6. — **cetera**: the rest of the country through which the road led. It seems wellnigh impossible from this rather indefinite description to identify the locality and the causeway along which the army was marched. Scholars have endeavored to determine the route, but the evidence adduced does not compel belief. Furthermore, remains of ancient Roman causeways have been found in the several possible localities, so that even this confirmatory evidence is not conclusive for any one route above the others. — **compendiis viarum**: see Introd. § 20.

7. **in loco**: *at the place*, where he had arrived on the march. — **opus et alii proelium** = *alii opus alii proelium*. Some repaired the road while others held back the enemy pressing upon them. As Draeger remarks, the peculiarity of Tacitus's usage in such a case is the insertion of *et*. Cf. 12. 41. 5, *fictis causis et alii per speciem honoris*; 15. 54. 2, *libertate et alii pecunia donati*.

64. 1. munitioribus: *the miners*; those engaged upon the fortifications. The word is rare, not occurring in Caesar or Cicero. — **nisi:** *nitor* is usually followed by a final sentence in a case of this sort. But Tacitus here uses an infinitive as complement, after the example of poetic usage. Cf. Sallust, Jug. 25. 9, *Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur*.

2. ad gradum: *for a firm stand*; in contrast with *procedentibus*. — **pila:** the *pilum* was the usual weapon of the Roman infantry; it was a heavy javelin six feet long, half of its length being of iron.

3. sueta: *customary, usual*; this participle is rarely applied to things. Cf. Hist. 2. 80. 5, *Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant*. — **procera membra:** Tacitus elsewhere (see 2. 14. 5 and Germ. 4) indicates that the Germans had large bodies.

4. inclinantis iam: *already giving way*. Cf. Germ. 8. 1, *acies inclinatas iam*, etc.

5. quantum . . . oritur: *whatever streams rise in the neighboring mountains, etc.*; *circum* modifies *surgentibus*. — **vertere:** perfect; coördinate with *duplicatus*. — **in subiecta:** *into the plain below*. Cf. 1. 65. 1, *subiecta vallium*. — **obruo . . . operis:** *the work which had been done being covered with water*; *obruo* forms with *eo*, understood, an ablative absolute (see Introd. § 28 (b)).

7. futura: what was to be done on the morrow. — **volvens:** sc. *animo*; *reflecting*. — **quantum, etc.:** sc. *esset*, whatever there was of the baggage-train. See *quantum* above. — **donec . . . anteirent:** subjunctive of design. — **montium:** presumably the wood-clad hills (1. 63. 6, *silvae paulatim acclivies*), there being no mountains in this part of Germany. — **pateretur:** potentiality of the past.

65. 1. per diversa: *for different reasons*; in reference to the demonstrations from the enemy and the noise in the camp. — **inquiēs:** *unquiet, restless*; an uncommon word, first found in Sallust. Cf. 1. 68. 1, *Haud minus inquiēs Germanus*, etc. — **cantu aut truci sonore:** Tacitus elsewhere (Germ. 3. 1) comments on the German war cries and songs. — **subiecta vallium:** *the valleys below*. Tacitus furnishes some bold instances of the partitive genitive after abstract nouns and neuter adjectives. See Introd. § 20. **ignes . . . voces:** sc. *essent*. On the omission of *essent* see 1. 7. 1, *laeti*, note. — **passim adiacerent:** *were lying here and there*. Cf. 4. 48. 5, *cum pars munitionibus adicerent*.

2. **dira quies**: *distressing dream*. Cf. Lucan 7. 26, *dira quies et imagine moesta diurna*. — **obsecutus**: sc. *esse*, complementary infinitive after *visus est*, like *cernere* above and *reppulisse* below. — **manum intendentis**, etc.: *to thrust back his* (i.e., Varus) *hand as he beckoned to him*, etc. Varus's ghost is conceived as holding out his hand beckoning to Caecina. Cf. 1. 27. 1, *manus intentantes*.

3. **Coepta**: on the use of this verb in Tacitus see Introd. § 31 (d). — **missae . . . legiones**: the legions that fomented the mutiny were the fifth and twenty-first. See 1. 31. 3. — **capto propere campo**: the plan was for these legions to keep back the enemy in the forest (*hostem silvis coaceret*). But these legions, far from carrying out the plan, left the baggage-train exposed to attack in the morass and themselves hastened across the morass to the open field.

4. **caeno fossisque**: the omission of the preposition *in* after *haesere* is poetical, and these ablatives are to be explained as due to Tacitus's free way of expressing place where without a preposition (Introd. § 24). Here the fissures in the bog are called *fossae*. — **turbati**: note the asyndeton so characteristic of Tacitus (Introd. § 37). — **utque**: *ut* here, unlike the preceding *ut*, is not temporal, but modal, — *as*.

5. **Simul haec**: sc. *dicit*; the phrase is poetical. — **equis**: not the horses of the cavalry of which Caecina had none, but those of the baggage-train.

7. **figi**: the eagles could not be planted in the morass, there being no firm ground in which to set up the standards, as was the custom during a battle. Nipperdey notes that the mere ablative without a preposition is used here, after the usage of the poets.

8. **circumveniebatur**: interrupted action in the apodosis of an unreal condition, hence imperfect indicative (Introd. § 33 (b)). Cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* § 597, R. 2; Allen and Greenough, § 517 b.

9. **vesperascente die**: *as the day grew towards evening*; poetical and rare. Cf. 16. 34. 1, *vesperascente tam die*; Hist. 2. 49. 2, *vesperascente die*.

10. **agger**: i.e., material of which the mound was to be built. Cf. Caesar, B. G. 2. 20. 1, *aggeris petendi causa*; *ib.*, B. C. 1. 42. 1, *longius agger petendus*. — **amissa**: the subject is the implied antecedent of *quae*, *the tools*, etc. — **fomenta**: *bandages*, for dressing wounds. Cf.

15. 55. 5, *fomenta vulneribus nulla*. — *reliquum diem*: no doubt, the camp on the night after that fateful day's battle presented a melancholy spectacle, since so many of the wounded were destined never to see daylight again.

66. 2. *decumana*: of the four gates of the Roman camp (there being one at the middle of each of the four sides) the gate facing the enemy which was theoretically toward the east was called the *praetoria* and the gate opposite this was the *decumana*. The other two gates were called *principalis dextra* and *sinistra*, respectively. — *aversa hosti*: the postern gate (*decumana*), being farthest from the enemy, was naturally the safest for flight. Furneaux observes that nowhere else is *aversus* certainly used with the dative, citing as questionable Hor., Sat. 2. 3. 107, *aversus mercaturis*, and Sall., Jug. 93. 2, *aversus proeliantibus*.

3. *comperito*: such an ablative absolute is rare before Livy, but recurs with increasing frequency in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 49. 3, *intellecto*; 2. 9. 1, *quaesito*; 3. 14. 4, *credito*; etc. See Introd. § 28; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 213. — *proiectus*: *having thrown himself down* (middle sense).

67. 1. *temporis ac necessitatis*: *of the crisis and the exigency*. Or, if you take the words as hendiadys, as some editors do, then translate: *of the exigency of the crisis*. Perhaps this is the only instance of the genitive with *moneo*, after the analogy of *admoneo*. — *expugnandi hostes spe*: Nipperdey thinks this an affected inversion where no misunderstanding could result. Cf. 14. 2. 1, *ardore retinendae Agrippam potentiae eo usque provectam*. — *perveniri*: *by that sally we come to the Rhine*; impersonal.

2. *victoribus*: i.e., if they conquered (*si vicissent*), honor and renown would be theirs.

3. *quae in castris honesta*: *the honor they had achieved in camp*; Nipperdey takes it to mean their military honor in general.

4. *nulla ambitione*: *without partiality*; i.e., to the bravest, irrespective of solicitation on their part. Cf. 2. 38. 4, *quod si ambitione exhausierimus*. — *hi*, etc.: i.e., the mounted soldiery first and afterwards the infantry.

68. 1. *agebat*: used absolutely, almost equivalent to *erat*. Cf. 3. 19. 2, *homines qui tum agebant*; 1. 4. 4; 2. 42. 4. — *egressoque*: while they were on the march, as on the day before. — *atroci-*

ora: *more savage.* Cf. Livy 1. 27. 11, *pugna atrocior.* — **promptam:** *easy.* Cf. 2. 5. 4, *promptam ipsis possessionem.*

2. **die:** note the feminine gender here, but the masculine in 1. 29. 1, *orto die.* Tacitus uses both genders of the word without distinction, after the poetic usage. — **proruunt fossas:** i.e., they fill up the fosses. Cf. Livy 9. 14. 9, *cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum 'atque in fossas proruerent.* — **crates:** *hurdles*, of woven rods which were placed over the fosse for a temporary bridge. Cf. Caesar, B. G. 7. 79. 4, *fossam cratibus integuunt*, etc. — **raro super milite:** *since there were few soldiers on the rampart;* a rare use of *super.* Cf. 3. 46. 7, *incensa super villa omnes creavit.* — **defixo:** *rendered motionless.* Cf. Agric. 34. 3, *defixere aciem in his vestigiis.*

3. **haesere munimentis:** *were retarded by the intrenchments;* *munimentis* may be taken as a dative, or better still, as an ablative of instrument. Cf. 1. 65. 4, *ut haesere caeno fossisque;* Agric. 36. 3, *inaequalibus locis haerebant.* — **cornua ac tubae:** the *cornu* was a horn curved somewhat like the letter C and was used for sounding the battle signal (*classicum*); the *tuba* denoted a long, straight trumpet, the usual instrument of the infantry.

4. **circumfunduntur:** they poured themselves upon the rear of the Germans by a sally from the gates. — **exprobrantes:** *casting in their teeth the taunt.*

5. **avidī . . . incauti:** used absolutely, *secundis* and *adversis* being ablative absolute. Cf. 1. 51. 1, *avidas legiones.*

6. **deseruere:** note the plural predicate with singular subject in these adversative clauses, — a characteristic Tacitean usage (Introd. § 31).

7. **quamvis:** Tacitus uses the subjunctive with *quamvis* to express a fact (Introd. § 34), a construction of frequent occurrence in Suetonius and late prose writers. Cf. 2. 38. 10, *quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.* See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 201.

69. 1. **pontem:** perhaps a bridge built the previous year (see 1. 49. 6). — **prohibuisset:** this verb is followed by the accusative and passive infinitive in Caesar (B. G. 6. 29. 5; 7. 78. 5) and Livy also, as Nipperdey notes. Cf. 4. 37. 4, *sisti non prohibuisset.* — **auderent:** Tacitus is very fond of using the accusative with this verb.

2. **induit**: on the metaphorical sense of this verb, see *Intro.* § 39.
 5. — **vestem et fomenta**: i.e., clothes for the destitute (*inops*) and medicaments for the wounded (*saucius*).

3. **C. Plinius**: Pliny the elder, the well-known author, who wrote a history of the German wars in twenty books. Pliny the younger says (*Epist.* 3. 5) that an image of Drusus seen in a dream induced his uncle to write the history. — **grates . . . habentem**: a neologism for the classical *gratias (grates) agentem*. Cf. *Curt.* 9. 6. 17, *grates ago habeoque*.

4. **non enim**, etc.: a verb of thinking is to be supplied from *id animum penetravit*. Translate: *For he thought that those attentions were not without an ulterior motive and that it was not against foreigners that she sought to win the army.*

5. **tamquam parum ambitiose**, etc.: *as if she did not court their favor sufficiently before, when she carried around the son of the general*, etc. See 1. 41. 3.

6. **conpressam**, etc.: an exaggeration of the facts recorded in chapters 40 and 41.

7. **Accendebat haec**: cf. 1. 23. 1, *incendebat haec*. — **peritia**: *through acquaintance*. — **odia in longum iaciens**: *sowing seeds of discord for the future*; by allowing his insinuations to rankle in the breast of Tiberius. — **quae reconderet**, etc.: sc. *Tiberius*; subjunctive of purpose. See chapter 7, end. — **aucta**: *when they had developed*.

70. 1. **P. Vitellio**: uncle of Aulus Vitellius, emperor from April to December, A.D. 69. He was a warm supporter of Germanicus and an accuser of Cn. Piso. See 2. 74. 2; 3. 10. 2; and 3. 13. 3. — **vadoso mari**: the coast near the mouth of the Ems is flat and consequently there is no great depth of water. — **reciproco**: *at ebb-tide*; the fleet would more readily float after grounding. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 2. 97. 213, *paribus tamen intervallis reciproci*, etc.; *Sil. Ital.* 3. 60, *sequiturque reciproca Tethys* (figuratively of the sea).

2. **sidere aequinoctii**: *the season of the equinox*; i.e., the autumnal equinox. This incidentally furnishes the date of the close of this campaign. — **rapi agique**: *were swamped and carried away* (as a result of the rough sea).

3. **brevia**: *shoals, shallows*; poetical, and said to be used by no other prose writer. Cf. *Verg.*, *Aen.* 1. 111, *in brevia et Syrtis urget*.

4. **Sternuntur**: sc. *homines* implied in *agmen*. — **subtracto solo**: *the bottom failing them, beyond their depth*. Cf. Verg., Aen. 5. 199, *subtrahiturque solum*.

5. **vox et mutui hortatus**: *their cries of mutual encouragement*; hendiadys (Intro. § 39. 4). — **adversante unda**: *in the midst of the struggling waves*. — **involvebantur**: sc. *fluctibus*. Cf. Verg., Aen. 6. 336, *Obruit auster aqua involvens navem*, etc.

6. **utensilibus**: *necessaries* (including food as well as utensils). Cf. 2. 60. 5, *omnium utensilium*. — **honestae mortis usus**: *opportunity for even an honorable death*. Cf. 6. 48. 5, *bene morte usum*.

7. **Lux**: here personified. See Intro. § 39. 6. — **Visurgin**: see Crit. App. Furneaux considers it impossible to retain this name by supposing (with Knoke) a sudden change of movement to the east. As he suggests, this appears to refer to a part of the retreat along the coast occupying only two days and a night. He thinks these two legions must have been sent on from the naval rendezvous about the mouth of the Ems to render the ships more manageable at sea and were taken aboard at the mouth of another river further on, perhaps left unnamed, and later wrongly named in a gloss.

71. 1. Iam Stertinus: the cavalry was evidently divided, one division marching by the seashore (1. 63. 5) and the other under the command of Stertinus (after his campaign against the Bructeri, described in 1. 60. 4) setting out on the mission here mentioned. Nipperdey thinks that as this officer usually commands cavalry and light troops, the part of the cavalry mentioned in chapter 63. 5 was under his command and after the retreat was dispatched from Cologne on the mission here described. — **Segimerum**: not to be confounded with Segimerus who was the father of Arminius (see Velleius 2. 118. 2). — **filium**: Sesithachus, according to Strabo (7. 1. 4. 292).

5. **circumire . . . extollere**: on the historical infinitive see Intro. § 32 (c). — **alium spe**, etc.: *with hope he encouraged some, with praise of their achievements others*. — **sibique et proelio firmabat**: *he strengthened in fidelity to himself and the struggle*; a characteristic Tacitean use of the dative for *ad* with the accusative (Intro. § 19). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 52. c. Note the syllepsis in the application to himself and the struggle (Intro. § 40. 3).

72. 1. triumphalia insignia: the insignia originally included

probably the adorned toga, the palm-embroidered tunic, the laurel wreath, the triumphal chair along with the chariot and scepter. Even under the republic the triumphal vestments (*vestis triumphalis*) and chair were seldom granted as *ornamenta* and the chariot and scepter never. Under the empire they were reserved as the exclusive honor for the emperor, or in rare instances for members of the imperial family, as in the case of Germanicus and Titus, son of Vespasian. The *ornamenta triumphalia* had therefore come to be a mere nominal honor and the recipient was entitled to wear only the magistrate's toga, all the other decorations being reserved for the emperor. Yet despite this fact the dignity of *triumphalis* was highly esteemed and eagerly sought after for the honor it conferred upon the family by reason of the privilege of the laurel-wreathed statue (see 4. 23. 1). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* I, 465. — **A. Caecinae**, etc.: editors have called attention to the fact that these three *legati* were all of consular rank, from which circumstance it is inferred that the award was based on rank.

2. patris patriae: this title was conferred upon three men on different occasions, — Cicero, Julius Caesar and Augustus. Tiberius (2. 87. 2) persistently declined this honor, as later did Nero, Vespasian and Hadrian. The dignity came ultimately to be recognized as a permanent title of the imperial office. On Tiberius's persistent refusal Suetonius (Tib. 67) says, *opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatae vestrae de me opinioni eripiat: nihil honoris adiciet mihi patria appellatio*. — **ingestum**: pressed upon him. Cf. Juv. 6. 609, *his se ingerat (Fortuna)*. — **in acta sua iurari**: Augustus took the oath to the *acta* of Caesar B.C. 29, and Tiberius in like manner took the oath to the *acta* of Augustus, which he enforced scrupulously (see 4. 42. 3). Caligula followed the precedent now regarded as established. The oath was taken by the emperor on his accession and upheld the enactments of his predecessor, except so far as they had been specifically annulled. The oath was an outgrowth of that taken in reference to the laws by the magistrates under the republic. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* I, 621. — **permisit**: this verb is rarely followed by the accusative and infinitive before Tacitus, Cicero offering only one example (Verr. 5. 9. 22). Even Tacitus offers few examples (14. 12. 6; Hist. 1. 47. 3; etc.). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 146.

3. **legem maiestatis reduxerat**: it is not to be inferred from this that the law had become obsolete. It is evident from what follows that the law was still in force. However, the *lèse-majesté* trials proved, under Tiberius, to be among the most fertile sources of injustice, and though they were conducted according to judicial procedure, the flagrant abuse of delations grew to be one of the worst features of that prince's reign. There being no public prosecutor, individuals were encouraged to search out and indict criminals. Instead of revising this law which lent itself so readily to abuse, Tiberius endeavored to execute it with the utmost rigor. In the earlier years of his reign he exercised clemency by pardon or commutation of sentences of excessive severity. In his latter years he showed no disposition to temper justice with mercy, and the result was that his reign was rendered infamous by these nefarious treason trials. See Introd., art. Tiberius.

4. **Primus Augustus**: according to Suetonius (Aug. 55), Augustus regarded only those as coming under condemnation of the law of *maiestas* who published libels and pasquinades designed to damage any one. Cicero (Ad Fam. 3. 11. 2) says concerning public libel, *verum tamen est maiestas, etsi Sulla voluit, ne in quemvis impune declamari liceret*. — **famosis**: defamatory, slanderous. Cf. 16. 29. 4, *neque famosi carminis*. — **Cassii Severi**: according to Quintilian (10. 1. 117), he was a man of parts and polish, but of extreme austerity, whose judgment was warped by passion. Tacitus tells us that he was a wicked man, though a powerful speaker and was doomed to drag out his life in exile (*Annals* 4. 21. 5). — **Pompeio Macro**: an illustrious Roman knight who fell victim to the treason law (6. 18. 4). — **praetore**: the presiding judge in the treason trial. The trial might, at the option of the accused, be conducted before the senate, or before a court presided over by the praetor (*quaestio de maiestate*). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 121. — **exercendas leges**: Suetonius (Tib. 58) tells the same story.

5. **carmina**: Suetonius (Tib. 59) records some of these pasquinades, as *Fastidit vinum, quia iam sitit iste cruorem; tam bibit hunc avide quam bibit ante merum*. — **discordem cum matre**: Livia had exercised great influence over Augustus and when Tiberius became emperor, she expected to exercise the same over him; but he held to his determination to keep the reins of government himself

and not surrender them to his mother, despite his affection for her. See 3. 64. 1; 4. 57. 4.

73. 1. *modicis equitibus*: the knights of moderate means whose wealth barely equalled the equestrian census, in contrast with the wealthy knights (*illustres equites*, 2. 59. 4, note). Cf. 11. 7. 7, *modicos senatores*. — *praetemptata*: attempted. — *dein repressum*, etc.: it seems best to take this passage as referring to Tiberius's time. By this interpretation we have to extend the phrase *Tiberii arte* to the above words and understand them to indicate Tiberius's general policy toward the repression of the zeal of accusers and not to any special period of moderation or repression. Some editors take the reference to be to the reigns of Titus and Domitian.

2. *cultores Augusti*: the allusion is not to the *sodales Augustales* (see note to 1. 54. 1), but to the private cult in the homes of individuals. It would appear from this passage that such a private cult was in existence even while Augustus was living, in a form somewhat similar to the municipal worship (see 1. 10. 5). See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 463. — *statuam Augusti*, etc.: the sale of Augustus's statue which had been presumably consecrated was held an act of treason, since such statues might not be sold according to the maxim of jurists, — *non videri contra maiestatem fieri ob imagines Caesaris nondum consecratas* (Lipsius). — *violatum periurio numen Augusti*: that he had perjured himself by the divinity of Augustus; i.e., by an oath taken in Augustus's name, which was violated. For examples of such oaths see Marquardt, citation above.

3. *notuere*: *notesceere*, though of frequent occurrence in the *Annals*, is poetical and not used in prose before Tacitus's time. — *consulibus*: since the consuls presided over the senate they would naturally preside over all cases tried before that body. See 1. 72. 4, note to *praetore*. — *caelum* = *honores* [*caelestes*, divine honors. Cf. 1. 10. 8, *caelestes religiones*].

4. *histrionem*: the actor, specifically, the mime. — *ludis*: the three days' festival held by Livia in the Palatium, subsequently called from the place *ludi Palatini* (Suet., Cal. 56).

5. *perinde . . . quam si*: a locution reputed to be peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. 13. 49. 3, *perinde egregia quam si non Nero*, etc. — *deorum iniurias*, etc.: the injuries done to the gods was a matter for

the gods to avenge; an old maxim of Roman law which did not punish for perjury. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 810.

74. 1. Granium Marcellum: practically unknown. — **praetorem:** strictly not praetor, but pro-consul of praetorian rank, since Bithynia was a senatorial province which was governed by a pro-consul of praetorian rank. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 349. — **Bithyniae:** the province included not only Bithynia proper, but also the western part of the Pontic kingdom which Pompey had added. Pliny the younger was the governor at the time Tacitus wrote the *Annals*. — **quaestor ipsius:** the quaestors who were assigned by lot to the provinces enjoyed such an intimate relation with the governor that any act of unfriendliness toward him was construed as disloyalty, if not treason. — **Caepio Crispinus:** not elsewhere mentioned. — **maiestatis:** *high-treason*. Note that Tacitus here uses the genitive of crime with *postulo*, after the analogy of verbs of accusing. Cicero always follows it by *de*, in this sense. Cf. 3. 66. 2, *repetundarum a sociis postulatum*; 3. 70. 2, *maiestatis postulatum*. — **subscribente:** *giving support to the charge*; i.e., by signing the document so as to substantiate the charge. Custom required the chief prosecutor to be assisted in the prosecution by one or more private individuals who signed the accusation and contributed to the securing of evidence. In the present instance Crispinus was chief accuser (*subscriptor primus*) and Hispo his assistant (*subscriptor secundus*). — **Romano Hispone:** M. Seneca gives his name as Hispo Romanus, saying that he had a harsh method of speaking (*Contr.* 9. 3. 17). — **qui:** probably refers to Crispinus as a professional informer, though some editors take as referring to Hispo. — **formam vitae:** i.e., professional informer.

2. **miseriae . . . audaciae:** Tacitus is fond of the plural of abstract nouns (*Intro.* § 1). — **libellis . . . adrepi:** *by his secret accusations he quietly works himself into the cruel counsels of the prince*. The dative with *adrepo* is rare. Cf. 3. 50. 5, *virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepi*. On *libellis* see Juvenal 6. 244, *formantque libellos*. — **ex pauperibus divites, etc.:** note the contrast and condensation.

3. **obiectaretque:** *and charged the accused with them*.

4. **sitam = positam,** as in chapter 39. 4.

5. **palam et iuratum:** *palam* refers to *viva voce* voting in contrast

to the secret ballot (*tabella*), while *iuratum* refers to the exceptional manner of subscribing to an oath in voting in the senate. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 979, 993. — *necessitas*: i.e., of voting openly and on oath.

6. *morientis libertatis*: see Introd. § 39. 6. — *Cn. Piso*: see 1. 13. 3, note. — *censebis*: here in the technical sense of voting. As *princeps senatus*, he had the right to give his vote first so as to favor the decision, or to reserve his vote till the end if he desired to resort to formal veto or modification. Suetonius (Tib. 33) speaks of Tiberius as vetoing decrees of the senate already passed.

7. *quantoque . . . efferverat*: and accordingly as he had indiscreetly lost control of himself. On the abbreviation of this comparative clause see Introd. § 37 (b). — *paenitentia . . . tulit*: through repentance he patiently suffered; i.e., he regretted his exhibition of passion and patiently permitted a decision contrary to his real desire in the matter. Suetonius (Tib. 58) gives a variant account of this incident, saying that the accused was condemned (*damnato reo*). — *recipitatores*: a judicial board for the assessment of claims made by provincials against Roman citizens. On the failure of the criminal charge to be sustained, the case became a mere civil case for damages.

75. 1. *iudiciis adsidebat*: it was Tiberius's practice to attend the regular courts to see that justice was properly dispensed. Suetonius (Tib. 33) says that he offered his services as adviser to the judges in the tribunals of justice. — *in cornu tribunalis*: the tribunal was arranged in the shape of a semicircle with the praetor as judge seated in the center. Not wishing to deprive him of his customary seat, Tiberius would sit at the end of the tribunal, or on another tribunal facing the praetor (Suet., Tib. 33, *assidebat iuxtim vel exadversum in parte primori*). — *curuli*: frequently used without *sella* by post-classical writers. Cf. Hist. 2. 59. 4. — *multaque . . . constituta*: many decisions were rendered in his presence against the corruptions and solicitations of influential citizens.

2. *libertas corrumpebatur*: the independence of the judiciary was undermined; i.e., by undue influence brought upon the judges by the presence of the prince.

3. *Inter quae*: this refers not to any specific action before the praetors, but to Tiberius's general interest in the administration of

justice. — *mole . . . ductu*: Nipperdey takes *mole* to refer to the construction of the road and *ductu* to the work of conducting the water.

4. *aerarii praetoribus*: by an order of Augustus the charge of the treasury had been transferred from the quaestors to some of the praetors of the year. — *erogandae . . . cupiens*: *who desired to pay out money in worthy cases*. Tiberius was known to show marked liberality to individuals and to the provinces. — *diu*: he manifested this spirit of liberality even to the last year of his life (see 6. 17. 4; 6. 45. 1).

5. *veniam ordinis*: *leave to resign the office of senator* (to avoid being stricken from the rank of senator by reason of poverty). — *deciens sestertium*: about \$50,000, which was the requisite estate of a senator as the senatorial census was established by Augustus (see Dio 54. 17. 3). If a senator's rating fell below this estimate, the emperors would sometimes supply the deficiency in order to keep him in the senatorial rank, as Augustus did for Hortalus (2. 37. 2). See *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 883; Pelham, *Essays*, pp. 125 fol. — *paternas*: his poverty was inherited and not a result of his own extravagance.

6. *acerbus*: he had the investigation made in the senate, and the publicity seemed harsh. Dio (57. 10. 4) records that he bestowed his benefactions openly because many private gifts of Augustus had been appropriated by his agents to their own personal ends.

76. 1. *plana urbis*: between the Capitoline and the Palatine in Rome the ground lies low and in very ancient times this region was a swamp, till drained by the *cloaca maxima*. The Tiber used frequently (till 1898) to inundate this and other low districts of the city. On the destruction wrought by such inundations see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* VIII, 272; Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* I, 23; Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, ch. xii. — *stagnaverat*: rarely transitive as here, poetical and post-Augustan. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 269, (*loca*) *stagnata paludibus ument*. — *aedificiorum . . . strages*: zeugma or syllepsis, *strages* being used in two different senses, in one in reference to the collapse of the buildings and in the other in reference to the deaths from pestilence (Intro. § 40. 2 and 3). Furneaux suggests that the pestilence probably followed the flood which undermined the buildings.

2. **Asinius Gallus**: see 1. 12. 2. — **libri Sibyllini**: the old Sibylline books having been destroyed in the ruin of the Capitoline temple B.C. 83, a new set of these prophetic books had been ordered by Augustus to be placed in the pedestal of the statue of Apollo in the Palatine temple (Suet., Aug. 31) and put under the care of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (6. 12. 1). See Harper's Dict. of Classical Antiquities; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 350.

3. **obtegens**: Tiberius seems not to have approved of any such superstition, accepting the events not as an omen, but as a disaster resulting from the overflow of the Tiber. He therefore appointed a permanent commission of senators who should have care of the river. See Dio 57. 14. 3; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1046. — **Ateio Capito**: a jurist, though a man of servile spirit (3. 70. 2), who was water commissioner (*curator aquarum*) from A.D. 13 to 23, succeeding Messala (Frontinus, *De Aquaeduct.* 102). Suetonius (*De Gram.* 22) says of him that on one occasion, Pomponius having corrected Tiberius on the use of a certain word, Capito forthwith affirmed the word to be Latin, or if not, that it thenceforth would be made Latin, to which Pomponius replied: "Capito is telling a lie; for you, Caesar, can give citizenship to men, but not to a word." — **L. Arruntio**: see 1. 8. 4; 1. 13. 1; etc.

4. **Achaia**: this province, including Thessaly, Epirus and Greece proper, was separated from Macedonia by Augustus in B.C. 27 and made a senatorial province with Corinth as the seat of government. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 330; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 277. — **Macedonia**: this was an old, established province, dating from B.C. 146, when it was conquered. See Marquardt, cited above, I, 318; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 13. — **proconsulari imperio**: Achaia and Macedonia, as old, established provinces requiring no military force, were continued under the senatorial administration as in republican times and accordingly governed by pro-consuls. But since the senatorial provinces were taxed to maintain the government while the imperial provinces were governed by praefects of the emperor paid out of the imperial exchequer, the burden was naturally heavier upon the senatorial provinces. Furthermore, the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces increased the expenses of government for their provinces by affecting

unnecessary pomp and display. This was probably the reason why Achaia and Macedonia petitioned to be changed from senatorial to imperial provinces. They were later restored to the senatorial class by Claudius, A.D. 44. See Suet., Claud. 25; Dio 60. 24. 1.

5. *quamquam . . . gaudens*: *taking delight too much in blood, however cheap*; *quamquam* modifies *vili*. Cf. 1. 10. 2, *quamquam* *fas sit*. — *in vulgus*, etc.: *fraught with alarm to the common people*. Note the characteristic use of *in* with the accusative as the equivalent of a dative of end (Intro. § 36 (c)). — *et* = *etiam*.

6. *abstinuerit*: primary after historical, to contribute to the vividness of the description. Cf. 1. 61. 6, *invenerit*; 6. 45. 4, *quos omiserit receperitve*. — *trahebant*: *interpreted*. Cf. 1. 62. 3. — *alii . . . quidam*: sc. *dicebant abstinuisse*, implied in *trahebant* and *abstinuerit*.

7. *Non crediderim*: it is manifest from this that Tacitus did not accept all of the absurd and scandalous stories told of Tiberius.

77. 1. *priore*: apparently redundant, since *proximo* might have been used alone, as in 1. 22. 1; 1. 78. 3; etc. — *occisis . . . vulnerato*: perfect with the force of an aorist, — a usage confined in classical prose to deponent verbs, not passives, as here (Intro. § 35 (b)). Cf. 4. 55. 7, *missis*; 4. 64. 1, *deusto*; etc. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 209. — *praetoriae cohortis*: usually stationed at the games to prevent disorder. Nero ordered the discontinuance of the practice in the year 55.

3. *Intercessit*: the intercession of the tribunes probably prevented the passage of this measure investing the praetors with power to flog the players. — *Haterius Agrippa*: a relative of Germanicus (2. 51. 2) and probably son of Q. Haterius (1. 13. 4) by a daughter of Agrippa. A reckless man, he served as praetor and consul. See 3. 49. 4; 6. 4. 5.

4. *immunes*, etc.: Augustus, according to Suetonius (Aug. 45), permitted magistrates some power of flogging actors at the actual time and place, and himself commanded some to be flogged (1. 54. 3). Furneaux thinks that the present proposal had as its purpose the restoration of the general power conferred by the old law. — *neque fas Tiberio*: a rule of action with him, it appears from 4. 37. 4.

5. *ex quis*: *quis* is archaic form of *quibus*. — *ne domos*, etc.: the bad reputation of the pantomimes rendered advisable these pro-

hibitions which, however, probably did not accomplish the desired end. — **sectarentur**: see Crit. App.

78. 1. colonia Tarraconensi: modern Tarragona in Spain, founded by Julius Caesar. Augustus transferred the seat of government of the province of Hither Spain from New Carthage to Tarraco, as it was later called. See Hübner, *Hermes*, Vol. I, 110; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 255; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 71. — **permissum**: soon after the decisive victory off Actium Augustus allowed not only altars, but also temples to himself and Roma to be erected in various cities in the provinces, and in a brief time the cult spread throughout the empire and came to be established as the chief cult in the provinces. — **exemplum**: this was the first temple to Augustus alone erected by a province. The temples erected earlier in *Pergamum* (Asia), *Ancyra* (Galatia) and elsewhere were consecrated to Augustus and Roma jointly.

2. Centesimam rerum venalium: this was a tax of one per cent on sales, which had been reduced one half in the year A.D. 17 (2. 42. 6). See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 278. — **militare aerarium**: this fund for the maintenance of retiring veterans Augustus established in A.D. 6 (see his own statement in *Mon. Anc.* 3. 36). This military fund proving unequal to the demands upon it, other means of revenue had to be devised and so the *centesima* came to be applied to this purpose (see 2. 42. 6). — **simul**: *even then*; i.e., when the military fund was applied to this purpose. — **nisi vicensimo**: i.e., unless the government made the full twenty years of service a requirement. Germanicus had revoked this former condition when he made the concession of reducing the term of service by four years at the time of the revolt of the legions (see chapters 35 and 36). It was Tiberius's policy to ignore that concession by avoiding *missiones* as much as possible (Suet., *Tib.* 48), so that the concession was practically revoked.

3. male consulta: *ill-advised resolutions*. — **sedecim stipendiorum finem**: *a sixteen years' limit*.

79. 1. Actum, etc.: *then the proposition was discussed*, etc. The appointment of the commissioners is recorded in chapter 76. — **municipiorum et coloniarum**: *cities and colonies*. The Latin and Roman colonies having both alike already received citizenship, there was no longer any distinction made between these two classes of

communities. Tacitus employs both terms repeatedly, but the distinction had long since been obliterated except as indicating a difference in origin. — **Florentinis**: the colony of Florentina, modern Florence, which was of recent date, and which soon surpassed the ancient Etruscan town of Fiesole (*Faesulae*). — **Clanis**: the Chiana has its source in the marshy region near *Cortona* and *Arretium* and though a tributary of the Tiber, it might easily have been diverted into the Arno which rises near the same place. This would have diminished the volume of water of the Tiber and tended to relieve its inundations. — **adferret**: it rested with the commissioners to permit or prevent the proposed change of diverting the Chiana from its natural course. The mood here is similar to that in 2. 58. 1, *traheret*; 2. 81. 3, *maneret*, etc.

2. **Interamnates**: the inhabitants of *Interamna* situated near the Nar, in Umbria. The famous falls of the Nar were made artificially by draining the regions above, — a monumental engineering feat of Manius Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus and the Samnites, B.C. 275. Cf. Cic., *Ad Att.* 4. 15. 5. — **superstagnavisset**: found only here in Tacitus, — ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

3. **Velinum lacum**: the artificial channel cut by Dentatus became the outlet of this lake into the Nar. But the citizens of *Reate* (*Reatini*) must have lost sight of the tradition of its origin since they refer to it here as the work of nature. — **obstrui recusantes**: note the rare construction of the accusative and infinitive after *recusantes*. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 29. 1. 8. 16, *quaestum esse manipretio vitae recusabant*. — **adiacentia**: the near-by district; i.e., the adjacent valley in the Apennines noted for its beauty and fertility. See *Introd.* § 3. — **sociorum**: presumably the independent Italian nations who were allies of Rome about the time the engineering feat was done, B.C. 275. All such Italian allies were admitted to Roman citizenship at the end of the Social War in B.C. 90.

4. **Tiberim**: the river god. Tacitus is fond of such implied personifications, and frequently personifies day and night and even the year (*Introd.* § 39. 6). See 1. 28. 1, *noctem*; 1. 54. 1; etc.

5. **Pisonis**: Cn. Piso, mentioned 1. 74. 6. The MS. omits the forename.

80. 1. **Poppaeo Sabino**: consul A.D. 9, granted triumphal honors A.D. 26, governor of various provinces for twenty-four years,

died 35. He was the grandfather of Poppaea Sabina, wife of Nero. — **Moesia**: This province extending from the Danube to the Euxine comprised the whole of Servia and Bulgaria. It was established toward the end of Augustus's reign and was held by a strong garrison of two legions. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 301; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 14, 25, 230 foll. — **additis**, etc.: Sabinus was probably governor of these provinces till his death. The usual tenure of an imperial province was determined by the prince's pleasure, averaging from three to five years. But a governor might be transferred from one province to another at the prince's will. Sabinus seems to have enjoyed an exceptionally long tenure, from A.D. 11 to 35.

2. **morum**: plural for the classical *moris* (*est*); a kind of qualitative genitive. — **continuare imperia**: Tiberius pursued the same policy with respect to his fiscal officers (see 4. 6. 5). — **exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus**: the former term refers to the governor of an imperial province who had troops under his control; the latter to a representative of the emperor, a procurator, whose jurisdiction extended over a group of small provinces, and whose functions were judicial and administrative. Such an official had no troops under his control.

3. **Causae variae**: Tiberius used to say that governors who had already exploited their provinces were like gorged flies upon the sore of a victim and had better be left undisturbed. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Bk. 18. 6. 5. — **semel placita**: *whatever had once been determined upon*. — **ut callidum . . . iudicium**: *that his judgment was as vacillating as his insight was penetrating*; a characteristic trait of Tiberius. — **rursum**: *on the contrary*. Cf. 1. 12. 4; 2. 39. 4.

4. **ut mandaverit**: exceptional sequence in a result clause, of which Tacitus offers many examples. Cf. 1. 18. 2, *ut . . . agitaverint*; 2. 30. 1, *ut consultaverit*; 2. 55. 3, *ut . . . miserit*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 182. — **non erat passurus**: the cases on record are Arruntius and Lamia (6. 27. 2 and 3). Suetonius (Tib. 63) says that Tiberius recalled some few governors and detained them at Rome, but still treated them as if they had not been removed, issuing orders to them to be executed in their provinces by their *legati*.

81. 1. **comitiis consularibus**: on this election by the senate see 1. 15. 1, note. — **tum primum**: the consuls of the year before had been designated by Augustus (1. 14. 5), and this was therefore the second year of Tiberius's reign. — **orationibus**: the messages of recommendation he sent to the senate, recorded perhaps in the *acta senatus*.

2. **subtractis**: *being withheld*; i.e., the candidates were described without giving their names. — **ea quoque**, etc.: *avoiding even this indication of his desire*.

3. **posse et alios**, etc.: nomination by the emperor did not preclude others from announcing their candidacy before the consuls without consulting his wishes in the premises, if they so desired.

ANNALS, BOOK II.

1. 1. Sisenna Statilio Tauro: Titus Statilius Sisenna Taurus. It is contrary to Tacitus's practice to place the gentile name between the two *cognomina* as here; and for this reason, — hardly a sufficient reason — some editors take the last cognomen as a gloss. — *mota* = *commota*; simple for compound verb, as often in the *Annals* (Introd. § 30). Cf. 1. 7. 5, *posuit*; 1. 71. 5, *firmabat*. — **provinciae Romanae:** this must refer to Syria, which at the time was the only Roman province in the East, Asia Minor excepted. — **Parthos:** a powerful kingdom southeast of the Caspian Sea which won its independence under Arsaces, B.C. 250. Under Mithradates I, about B.C. 150, the kingdom was extended so as to embrace all the territory as far west as the Euphrates, thus becoming a formidable rival of Rome. — **gentis Arsacidarum:** the dynasty of Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian kingdom. — **Vonones:** a son of Phraates IV, who together with his three brothers was given by their father to Augustus as hostages. After the murder of Phraates IV by his illegitimate son who succeeded him, Vonones was restored to the Parthians at their own request, about A.D. 7, Orodes who then occupied the throne being forced to abdicate.

2. cuncta venerantium officia: every mark of respect; note the unusual defining genitive *venerantium* (= *venerationis*). One of the chief marks of respect was the restoration, about B.C. 20, of the captured standards of Crassus and others. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* 5. 40, *Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi*. See the allusion in Hor., Ep. 1. 12. 27, *ius imperium Phraates*, etc. — **partem prolis:** according to Strabo (16. 1. 28. 748), he sent among the hostages four sons, including Phraates and Vonones. In his *Monumentum Ancyranum* (6. 4) Augustus refers to these as *filios suos nepotesque omnes*. — **firmandae amicitiae:** a characteristic Tacitean dative of

the gerundive (here after *miserat*). Cf. 1. 60. 2, *distrahendo hosti mittit*. See Intro. § 16; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 206 b. — *haud perinde . . . quam*: not so much . . . as. Cf. 2. 5. 3, *suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam*, etc. — *diffisus*: coördinate with *metu*; inconcinnity (Intro. § 41).

2. 1. *finem Phraatis*: see note to Vonones (2. 1. 1). — *internas caedes*: domestic slaughters. — *venere in urbem legati*: about A.D. 5.

2. Caesar: i.e., Augustus, mentioned above (2. 1. 2). — *auxitque opibus*: and loaded him with presents. Cf. 1. 3. 1; 11. 8. 6, *opibus auctus*. — *ut ferme*, etc.: as is generally the case at the beginning of a reign.

3. *alio ex orbe*: i.e., Rome. Tacitus makes the Parthians intimate that their empire was one world and the Roman another. Cf. Germ. 2. 1, *ab orbe nostro*; Agric. 12. 3, *Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram*.

4. *trucidantium Crassum*, etc.: Crassus was treacherously slain by the barbarian Parthians shortly after the battle of Carrhae, B.C. 53, his head and right hand being cut off and sent to the Parthian king. Note the substantival force of the participles *trucidantium* and *exturbantium*, employed for conciseness of expression (Intro. § 35 (a)). Antony and his lieutenant Statianus were defeated B.C. 36. — *mancipium*: slave; from originally meaning the formal acceptance of a piece of property, *mancipium* came to signify the property itself, specifically a slave.

5. *dedignant*: *dedignor* is poetical and rarely found before Ovid, who uses it repeatedly. Cf. 2. 34. 8, *venire dedignaretur*. — *ipse*: his character is here contrasted with the circumstances of his accession to the throne. — *diversus*, etc.: it was characteristic of the Parthians to live on horseback; hence they disparaged the Roman method of traveling by litter as effeminate. — *raro venatu, segni . . . cura*: ablative of quality. The Parthians almost lived on wild meat captured in the chase. — *quotiens . . . incederet*: subjunctive of repeated action (Intro. § 34), — a construction of rare occurrence before Livy's time. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 192. — *erga*: against, in relation to; of frequent occurrence in Tacitus to denote a friendly or hostile attitude (Intro. § 36 (b)).

6. *vilissima*, etc.: the reference is to the Roman practice of putting a seal upon the common articles of domestic use, such as salt

and bread, to prevent pilfering by slaves. It would seem that Vonones introduced this Roman custom, much to the disgust of the Parthians, who considered it as petty. — *virtutes . . . vitia: sc. erant*. The expression is general, applying to all the characteristics of Vonones, both good and bad.

3. 1. Arsacidarum e sanguine: the relationship is supposed to refer to his mother's side only, the spindle side (see 6. 42. 4). — **Dahas:** the Dahae dwelt to the east of the Caspian Sea, though the modern Daghestan shows that the tribe must at some time or other have lived farther to the west. Vergil (Aen. 8. 728) speaks of them as an invincible race (*indomiti Dahae*). — **fusus, etc.:** coins of Vonones, struck about A.D. 10, show by the inscription upon them that as king he contended against Artabanus. Josephus (Antiq. of the Jews, Bk. 18. 2. 4) refers to Artabanus as king of Media, whither he presumably retreated for re-enforcements (*reparat vires*).

2. Armenia: this mountainous country was a kind of buffer state between the two great empires of Parthia and Rome, being independent. — **vacua:** the royal throne was without an occupant at the time. — **Parthorum et Romanas:** note the variation of expression, inconcinnity, and see Introd. § 41 (f). — **ob scelus Antonii:** Artavasdes I, son of Tigranes I, after reigning twenty years, was taken prisoner by Antony, B.C. 34, and after the battle of Actium was put to death by Cleopatra, in the hope of winning over the unfriendly king of Media as an ally (Dio 51. 5. 5). — **catenis:** tradition says that his chains were at first silver and afterward changed to gold, in order to reconcile the prisoner to his disgrace.

3. Artaxias: Augustus mentions the death of this king in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* 5. 24. But Josephus speaks of Artaxias as being expelled by Tiberius (Antiq. of the Jews, Bk. 15. 4. 3). — **seque regnumque:** a poetical form of coördination seldom employed by Tacitus. Cf. 16. 16. 1, *meque, etc.*

4. Tigranes: Tigranes II, brother of Artaxias, who had been captured with his father Artavasdes and appointed king about B.C. 20.

5. in matrimonium: the son and daughter of Tigranes II, viz., Tigranes III and Erato, were married and reigned jointly after the Egyptian custom (*more externo*) as Ptolemy and Cleopatra did, and as Mausolus and Artemisia did in Caria.

4. 1. Artavasdes: this Armenian prince is not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* which speaks (5. 28) of a period of rebellion only; — *eandem gentem postea desciscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobazani regis Medorum Artabazi filio regendam tradidi, et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi.* Allen thinks that he was probably a younger son of Artavasdes I.

2. Gaius Caesar: he went on his commission to the East, B.C. 1, and died on his way back to Rome, 21 February, A.D. 4. — **Ariobarzanen:** as king of the royal house of Media he inaugurated a new dynasty. Upon the death of his son Artavasdes III, Tigranes IV of the Armenian line succeeded to the throne (see 6. 40. 2). Augustus mentions him in the *Mon. Ancy.* (1. 1), *domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani, regis Medorum Artabazi filio regendam tradidi.*

3. stirpem eius: Artavasdes III. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* 1. 1, *et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi. Quo interfecto Tigranem qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi.* — **Erato:** supposed to be the daughter of Tigranes II, who had ruled jointly with her brother Tigranes III (see above, 2. 3. 5). After being deposed and succeeded by her uncle Artavasdes II, she seems to have returned to the throne again. — **profugum Vononem:** cf. 2. 3. 2, *victo Vononi profugium.*

4. ubi minitari: it is exceptional to find the historical infinitive in a temporal clause as here (Introd. § 32 (c)). Cf. 11. 37. 3, *ubi auditum et languescere ira redire amor*, etc.; 12. 51. 2. — **defendetur:** sc. *Vonones*, implied in the context. — **rector:** the proper title of the governor of Syria was *legatus*. — **Creticus Silanus:** see 2. 43. 3.

5. 1. Tiberio haud ingratum: Allen thinks that Tacitus means here to charge Tiberius expressly with making the disordered condition in the East a pretext for removing Germanicus from his legions in Germany where his growing popularity aroused Tiberius's jealousy, and transferring him to a new and perilous command far distant, at the same time taking measures to have him assassinated. — **suetis legionibus:** dative of local relation where normal prose requires a preposition with the ablative (Introd. § 12). Cf. 2. 26. 6, *parto iam decori abstrahi.* See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 46.

2. celerandae . . . intentior: note the omission of *tanto* in this abbreviated comparative clause and the comparative combined with

the positive (*aversa*) as in 1. 68. 5 (Intro. § 37 (b)). Nipperdey notes that the poetical word *celerare* is first used in prose by Tacitus. — **tractare proeliorum**, etc.: *pondered over the methods of attack*; i.e., the land and water routes, both of which he had tried the year before. On the historical infinitive see Intro. § 32 (c). — **tertium**: Germanicus had served under Tiberius's command, A.D. 10–12, on the Rhine; but from the year 13 he had been in command himself, the war beginning in 14 (see 1. 49–51).

3. **iustis locis**: i.e., the ordinary kind of ground, without forests and marshes. — **fessas Gallias**: from eagerly offering supplies (see 1. 71. 3) the Gauls had now grown weary of the burden.

4. **promptam**, etc.: *they could readily get possession of the enemy's country before he knew it*; i.e., if they should enter Germany by the sea, since the Germans had no ships. — **maturius**: if the expedition was made by sea, the campaign could be begun earlier than when the army had to march overland, the roads not being fit for marching till late in the spring, and there being no slow-moving baggage train to delay the march.

6. 1. **huc intendit**: *to this plan* (the sea expedition) *he bent his energies*. Cf. 2. 61. 1, *intendit animum*. — **ad census**: see 1. 31. 2, *agendo censui*, note. — **P. Vitellio**: see 1. 70. 1. — **C. Antio**: this name is found upon a voting tablet at Langres. Cf. Orelli 1415, *C. Antius Titi fi. ex voto*. — **Silius**: see 1. 31. 2. — **Anteius**: Tacitus usually gives the praenomen on the first mention of an unknown person. For this reason Nipperdey explains *et Anteius* as a scribe's error by dittography from the foregoing *C. Antio*. — **Caecina**: see 1. 31. 2.

2. **Mille naves**: there were four different types of ships built to meet the various requirements of the expedition. — **utero**: for the usual *alveus* as applicable to a ship. Furneaux observes that *uterus* is nowhere else applied to a ship. — **planæ carinis**: Caesar (B. G. 3. 13. 1) mentions such ships as in use among the Gauls, *carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium*, etc. — **adpositis . . . gubernaculis**: the Viking ships were of this kind. Tacitus (Germ. 44. 2) speaks of the Suiones as having such reversible ships and describes (Hist. 3. 47. 4) similar ships as in use on the Black Sea.

3. **pontibus**: *decks*; a rare meaning of the word. — **habiles**: like *citae*, applies to the entire fleet of ships. — **augebantur**: the de-

terminated spirit of the soldiers rendered the fleet even more formidable than the ships themselves warranted. — *in speciem ac terrorem*: Tacitus makes frequent use of *in* with the accusative to express purpose (Intro. § 36 (c)). Cf. Agric. 35. 2, *Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem*, etc.

[4. *Insula Batavorum*: the island is formed by the Rhine, Meuse and Waal. Cf. Germ. 29. 1-4, where Tacitus describes the island and its inhabitants. — *faciles adpulsus*: *easy landings*. — *accipien-disque copiis*, etc.: note the inconcinnity, variety of expression so characteristic of Tacitus (Intro. § 41 (d)). Draeger (*Syntax und Stil* § 105) points out numerous examples of this kind in the *Annals*.

5. *qua . . . praevehitur*: the Rhine proper; the other branch, the Waal, flows into the Meuse. Note the prefix *prae* for *praeter* in the verb, — a substitution frequently found in Tacitus. Cf. 2. 63. 1, *prae-fluit*. — *donec*: the usage of the subjunctive of fact with *donec* was introduced by Livy. See Intro. § 34 (c); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 169. Cf. 1. 1. 4; 1. 13. 7. For a complete list of examples see Gerber und Greef, *Lexicon Taciteum*. — *cognomento*: note the variety (*nomen . . . cognomento . . . vocabulum*) of expression, inconcinnity. See Intro. § 41 (a). — *Vahalem*: the Waal. Caesar (B. G. 4. 10. 1) writes it *Vacalus*. The Waal does not change its name, but empties into the Meuse.

7. 1. *inruptionem in Chattos facere*: *to invade the Chatti*; perhaps to prevent their joining the Cherusci, as in the previous year (1. 55. 1). — *castellum*: probably not the fortress *Aliso* (see below), but some other strongly fortified place farther up the Lippe.

2. *Arpi principis*, etc.: the Chatti are supposed to have had no kings.

3. *tumulum*: see 1. 62. 1. Allen argues that the mention of the *tumulus* here is conclusive evidence that the scene of Varus's defeat was in the neighborhood of the Lippe. — *Druso sitam*: *sitam* here is equivalent to *conditam*, a usage peculiar to Tacitus. The altar probably stood on the spot where Drusus died, being erected for the private worship of his *manes*. It seems best to take *Druso* and *legionibus* as dative of interest.

4. *decucurrit*: refers to the *decursio funebris*, military honors paid by the soldiers at the funeral of a distinguished general, or emperor, by marching three times around the funeral pyre. First mentioned

in connection with the funeral of Sempronius Gracchus (Livy 25. 17. 5). See Harper's Dict. of Class. Antiq. Cf. Statius, Theb. 6. 213; Verg., Aen. 11. 188. — *haud visum*: it is most probable that he visited the place, though Furneaux thinks not.

5. *Alisonem*: the fortification built by Drusus where the *Aliso* joins the Lippe. Critics are not agreed whether the name is preserved in that of the town Alsen near Paderborn, or of the river Ahse which empties into the Lippe at Hamm. Knoke, Nipperdey and Allen favor the location near Hamm, while Mommsen, Furneaux and others support the location near Paderborn. See Mommsen, Roman Provinces I, 52. — *limitibus*: a fortified boundary line. See 1. 50. 2, *limitem*. — *aggeribus*: *ramparts*. See 1. 61. 2, *aggeres*.

8. 1. *praemisso*: to the Ems. — *fossam*: this canal was built to connect the Rhine and the Yssel, being the new Yssel. Suetonius (Claud. 1) says that it was called after Drusus (*quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur*). — *se eadem*, etc.: he desired to emulate Drusus's example, who was the first Roman to sail on the German Ocean (B.C. 12). Cf. Suet., Claud. 1, *Drusus oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit*. — *lacus*: these lakes are now embraced in the Zuyder Zee.

2. *Amisiae*: see Crit. App. It seems most satisfactory to take this as a genitive modifying *laevo amne* (i.e., on the side toward Gaul). Some take it as a locative, but incorrectly, as Tacitus would then have added *oppido* to avoid ambiguity. Germanicus is here criticised for not sailing farther up the river where there would have been little need of bridges for transporting his troops to the right side of the river. Why he failed to do this does not appear, nor why he failed to land his army on the right bank. As has been suggested, perhaps he deemed it necessary to secure his retreat by a bridge and for that reason landed where he did. Knoke thinks that on landing he left his fleet on the Ems because his original plan was to sail up the Hase or some other branch of the Ems. — *pontibus*: probably plural for singular, as *pontem* and *pontes* are used interchangeably in Cicero, Ad Fam. 10. 18. 4; 23. 3.

3. *aestuaria*: the flats, or marshes, which were flooded at full tide. It seems best to take *prima* as referring to those nearest the channel.

4. *Metanti castra*: this most probably refers to a camp near the

Weser, as the mention of the Angrivarii tends to show; and yet Tacitus makes no mention of the passage from the Ems to the Weser. Perhaps this may be taken for granted in the author's abrupt style. — **Angrivariorum**: a people bordering on the Cherusci, on the other side of the Weser (2. 19. 3). See Crit. App. The course from the landing place on the Ems to the mountainous region along the Weser whither Germanicus was going was a southeasterly direction. Knoke holds that the natural route would have been to follow the Hase nearly east and then bend to the south on approaching the Weser. Thus the revolt of the Angrivarii who probably lived on both sides of the lower Weser, in the vicinity of Bremen, would have been in the rear of Germanicus. — **Sertinius**: see 1. 60. 4.

9. 1. adstitit: the main division of the army did not arrive till the next day, Arminius with his chiefs forming the vanguard (2. 11. 1).

2. Flavus: on his son's succession to the throne of the Cherusci see 2. 11. 16. — **paucis ante annis**: perhaps in one of the later campaigns of Tiberius after the defeat of Varus.

3. permissum: Nipperdey thinks that some words have dropped out here. See Crit. App. — **stipatoribus**: *body-guard, attendants*. Cf. 4. 25. 6, *At ille deiectis circum stipatoribus*.

5. torquem: perhaps some such necklace as that which adorns the neck of the famous "Dying Gaul" in the Capitoline museum. Such an ornament was worn about the neck by the ancient Gauls and Persians and by other barbarians. It was sometimes bestowed upon the Roman soldiers as a mark of valor. See Harper's Dict. of Class. Antiq. — **militaria dona**: *decorations*. Cf. 1. 44. 7.

10. 1. Exim: *after that*; extension of *exim* is *exinde*. — **diversi**: *in hostile strains*. Cf. 2. 73. 6, *diversi interpretabantur*. — **coniugem et filium**: Arminius's wife and son seem to have been held in custody at Ravenna rather than in captivity. See 1. 57. 5 *seq.* — **penetralis** . . . **deos**: *guardian deities of Germany*. Flavus is elsewhere (11. 16. 8) called the enemy of the *dii penates* of his country. Cicero (Nat. Deor. 2. 27. 68) says that *dii penetrales* is a poetic expression for the *dii penates*. These were the peculiar national gods, like the family *penates*. — **matrem**: perhaps his father was dead, since he is not mentioned. — **desertor et proditor**: cf. *Hist.* 1. 72. 2 and 2. 44. 3, where these words are thus coupled.

2. cohibebantur: interrupted action in apodosis of condition

contrary to fact (Intro. § 33). See Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* § 597. R. 2; Allen and Greenough, § 517. b.

3. *ductor . . . meruisset*: since he had served as leader of his countrymen in the Roman army (where he had learned the Latin tongue); *meruisset* is causal subjunctive.

11. 1. *imperatorium*: a mark of generalship; the substantival use of this word is new.

2. *primipilarium*: the *primipilars*; i.e., those serving as *primipili* (like *consularis* from *consul*). The *primipilars* formed an order having many privileges, such as admittance to the equestrian order and the exercise of higher commands. See 1. 29. 2, *primi ordinis*, note. — *Aemilius*: he was apparently a praefect of the horse and perhaps the same mentioned in 4. 42. 2. — *investi*: having ridden into the river; of frequent occurrence in this passive sense.

3. *erupit*: he came out on the opposite side of the river. — *saltibus circumiectam*: surrounded by woods; *saltibus* is ablative after analogy of the construction after *circumdatus*.

4. *globo*: in a mass; i.e., a compact body without any definite formation. Note the bold use of the ablative of manner without the requisite adjective (Intro. § 27). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 60. — *inrumpens*: here followed by the simple accusative, as often in Tacitus, whereas normal prose requires a repetition of the preposition, or the dative (Intro. § 10). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 40. — *labitur*: poetical for *cadit*, sinks in death.

12. 1. *transgressus*: it is supposed he led the army over by a bridge built after the cavalry drove the enemy back from the river. — *Herculi*: probably Donar or Thor, or perhaps Irmin. Tacitus elsewhere (Germ. 3. 1; 9. 1) speaks of the Germans as honoring this deity especially.

2. *suggressi*: this verb is only recorded for Tacitus and Sallust.

3. *quonam id . . . foret*: how that could be done most surely. Cf. 1. 68. 1, *incompactam praedam fore*.

13. 1. *augurali*: the *augurale*, or *auguratorium*, where the auspices were taken was on the right of the general's tent on the way to the *via principalis*. Quintilian (8. 2. 8) says that in his time the term *augurale* was applied to the general's tent itself, and this meaning is satisfactory here (as also in 15. 30. 1). If this is the correct interpretation, *augurali* here is ablative after *egressus*; otherwise a

local ablative. This route was selected probably to avoid discovery. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 412. — *ignara* = *ignota*, as *gnarus* for *notus*, 1. 5. 4. — *umeros*: Tacitus is fond of this Greek accusative (Introd. § 7). — *ferina pelle*: he adopted this disguise probably to render himself more like a German soldier. — *fama sui*: *what was said about himself*; *sui* is objective genitive, equivalent to *sua*. — *per seria per iocos*: *in seriousness and in jest*; modifies *eundem animum*. — *perfidus . . . mactandos*: *the traitors and violators of peace should be sacrificed to vengeance and glory*; in reference to the Cherusci who had broken faith in their revolt against Varus.

2. *sestertios centenos*: the *sestertius* being about five cents or less, this wage was not over \$5.00 a day, — almost fifty times as much as their present pay of ten asses (ten cents) a day.

3. *matrimonia*: abstract for concrete *coniuges*, which had been used already twice before in this chapter (Introd. § 1). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 1 and 2.

4. *tertia ferme vigilia*: toward midnight. The night was divided into four watches of three hours each, beginning at 6 P.M., so that the third watch began at midnight. — *adsultatum est*: *an attack was made*; here followed by the dative, though in 1. 51. 6 it is followed by the accusative.

14. 1. *quietem*: *a dream*. Cf. 1. 65. 2, *ducemque terruit dira quies*. — *operatum*: *sacrificed*; a technical sense of *operari*. Cf. Verg., Georg. 1. 339, *sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis*; Prop. 2. 33. 2, *Cynthia iam noctes est operata decem*. — *sacri* = *hostia*. Cf. Plaut., Capt. 3. 4. 84, *inter sacrum saxumque stare*. — *praetexta*: the *toga praetexta*, a white robe with a purple border worn by those engaged in sacrificing as well as by the higher magistrates.

2. *Auctus*: *elated*. Cf. 1. 2. 1, *novis ex rebus aucti*. — *addicentibus*: *being favorable*; *aves* as subject is generally used with the verb in this sense. — *sapientia*: *by his forethought*.

3. *perinde haberi*: *are as readily handled*. — *pila et gladios*: these weapons, being short, could be readily and effectively used in the forests where trees and thickets rendered the huge javelins (*enormis hastas*) almost useless. The *pilum* was about six feet long and the *gladius* two. — *tegmina*: defensive armor of whatever sort, such as the *lorica*, *galea*, *scutum*, etc.

4. **Denserent**: occurs only here in Tacitus, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11. 650, *hastilia denset*. — **non loricam Germano**: Tacitus tells us elsewhere (*Germ.* 6. 3) that the Germans used defensive armor only to a limited extent. Hence the aim of the Roman soldiers was directed with their short swords at the face. Even in fully armed Roman soldiers the face was the least protected part and thus Merivale (chapter 17, p. 297) explains the command of Caesar at Pharsalus (*miles, faciem feri*). — **nervo**: *leather*. Cf. Sil. Ital. 4. 293, *subtextaque tegmina nervis*. — **colore**: Tacitus informs us (*Germ.* 6. 2) that the Germans decorated their shields with the choicest colors. Orelli sees in this custom the origin of the medieval figures on the shields and coats of arms. — **utcumque**: *in one way or another*; this adverbial sense is not ante-Augustan, but is frequent in Livy. Cf. Livy 31. 15. 10, *gaudentes utcumque composita cum Philippo pace*. — **brevia tela**: perhaps the *frameae* described in *Germ.* 6. 1, *hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas*, which had a short steel point so sharp and well-adjusted as to render it available both for short and long range fighting.

5. **Iam**: *again, now* (in transition). — **ut . . . sic**: *while . . . yet*. Cf. *Germ.* 4. 1. — **adversis inter secunda**: Tacitus is fond of such a poetic contrast of cases and prepositional phrases, which he used as a rhetorical device (*Introd.* §§ 28 and 41). Here he uses an ablative absolute, but more generally the dative case. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 105 and 213.

6. **taedio viarum ac maris**: a reminiscence of Horace (see *Epist.* 1. 2. 6, *odio maris atque viarum*. Ode 2. 6. 7, *lasso maris et viarum*). — **ultra**: *further*. This was the sole remaining hostile tribe in northern Germany. — **patris patruique**: Drusus had penetrated to the Elbe in the year B.C. 9, and Tiberius in A.D. 5. — **isdem in terris . . . sisterent**: the region referred to was that on the farther side of the Weser. The verb is so used in *Hist.* 2. 9. 2, *ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent*.

15. 2. **fugacissimos**: some of those in the army had shared in Varus's defeat and had later mutinied from fear of being exposed to a similar disaster. Cf. *Agric.* 34. 1, *hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tamdiu superstites*. — **seditionem induerint**: *engaged in a mutiny*; the verb used here in a metaphorical sense implies that the mutiny was simply a pretext to quit the service. — **quorum**

pars onusta, etc.: *some of whom brave the angry gods and expose their backs burdened with wounds to their enraged foes; and some, limbs battered by waves and storms.* The former allusion is to those who had retreated with Caecina the year before (see 1. 63–68), the latter to those who had shared the hardships of Vitellius's march (1. 70). Cf. Hist. 5. 16. 3, *superesse, qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo ferant.*

3. *premeret*: *pursue* (in retreat). — *miscuerint manus*: *joined battle*; a poetic expression.

4. *Meminissent*: cf. 2. 45. 5, *Meminissent modo tot proeliorum.* — *aliud sibi reliquum*: the omission of the interrogative particle, while not uncommon in direct discourse in Tacitus, is nevertheless quite unusual in indirect discourse, as here.

16. 1. *Idisiaviso*: most probably the nominative case in keeping with Tacitus's usage with substantives in an expression like *nomen est* (see 1. 45. 1, *Vetera*). *Idisiaviso* is Grimm's emendation, which reading many editors adopt. He explains the term as signifying "*Elfenweise*," *meadow of the elfs or nymphs* (= *nympharum pratum*). Such nymphs, like the Valkyries, were supposed to control destiny.

2. *Is medius*, etc.: the location of the battle seems almost impossible to determine on account of the vague and obscure geography of the entire campaign. Knoke would place it near Eisbergen, which name he believes to be derived from *Idistaviso*. Most critics argue for the locality of Minden somewhat above the bend of the Weser, where for a considerable distance the course of the river runs parallel to the Wesergebirge. The Germans are supposed to have occupied the hills above Eisbergen, facing west, and the Romans the plain between the Weser and the hills, facing east. — *prominentia*, etc.: *the mountain spurs advance*; *montium* is a partitive genitive, a construction so characteristic of Tacitus (Intro. § 20 (c)). Cf. 1. 53. 7, *in prominenti litoris*; 1. 65. 1, *subiecta vallium*. The passage is difficult to interpret and various explanations have been given. Perhaps the most satisfactory is the view of those who hold that the winding plain, varying in breadth, is broader where the river recedes from the mountains and narrower where the spurs of the mountain range advance toward the river. Another explanation is that the plain winds irregularly north and south, and as the river retreats to the south, the plain becomes nar-

row, and as the mountain spurs leave off, the plain becomes considerably broader. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 59.

3. **Pone tergum**, etc.: *in the rear* (i.e., of the Germans) *rose a forest*. From the description editors infer that it was a pine forest.

4. **iuga**: the Cherusci occupied the heights, perhaps on the extreme German right, where they could flank the Romans as they advanced. However, Nipperdey's interpretation places the Cherusci on the heights to the east, forming the German center (cf. 2. 17. 1, *medii inter hos Cherusci*). — **prœliantibus Romanis**: perhaps better to take as ablative absolute than as dative, inasmuch as Tacitus, as Nipperdey observes, uses the accusative with *incurrere* (see 1. 51. 6; 2. 17. 1).

5. **praetoriis cohortibus**: these two praetorian cohorts are thought by some to have been sent as a special body-guard to Germanicus at the time of the mutiny or soon after, just as two such cohorts were sent with Drusus to *Illyricum* (1. 24. 1). They are mentioned again in chapter 20. 6. — **ut ordo**, etc.: the troops were prepared to change at once from the march (*ordo agminis*) to the formation for battle (*in aciem*). — **adsisteret**: a pregnant verb meaning here *to halt and deploy into line of battle*; a form of brachylogy (Introd. § 40).

17. 1. **Visis . . . catervis**: the Cherusci must have been massed under cover of the woods on the heights they occupied, and their position revealed sooner than was intended. — **quae . . . prurperant**: *who had impatiently rushed forward*. On the use of *per* with the accusative to express manner, a Tacitean usage, see Introd. § 36 (d). — **validissimos equitum**, etc.: the strongest division of the cavalry was to make a right flank attack upon the Cherusci as they came down from the wooded heights, while Stertinius, having meanwhile marched round the mountain side, was to deliver himself with the remaining cavalry upon the German rear. — **ipse in tempore adfuturus**: *himself intending to attack them at the appropriate moment*; purpose expressed by future participle. See Introd. § 35 (c).

2. **octo aquilae**: the number corresponds to the number of legions in the army and the bird to the standard of the legion, — a silver eagle. — **imperatorem advertere**: *arrested the attention of the commander*. Cf. 1. 41. 1, *gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraquæ advertere*. — **propria legionum numina**: by a rhetorical trick applied

to the eagles, which in the eyes of the Romans possessed a certain sacredness.

3. **eques**: as the following words show (*postremos ac latera*), both divisions of the cavalry (*validissimi equitum* and those under Stertinius) are meant.

4. **duo hostium agmina**: Stertinius is supposed to have driven the Germans from the rear forward and the vanguard of the infantry to have driven back their front into the woods and, as a result of the flank attack, the Cherusci (between these two confused divisions) were about to be driven from the hills and exposed to attack on both sides in a confused mass.

5. **manu voce vulnere**: note the asyndeta and climactic order in these ablatives which modify *sustentabat*. See Introd. § 37.

6. **illa**: sc. *parte*. Cf. Hist. 3. 8. 3, *ne pervium illa foret*. — **rupturus**: *intending to break through there*; future participle expressing purpose like *adfuturus* above. Tacitus as well as Livy is fond of this construction. — **Raetorum Vindelicorumque**, etc.: such auxiliary forces usually served in the provinces in which they were raised, but were sometimes transferred to other provinces for special reasons. See 1. 44. 6.

7. **Chaucis**: as subjects of Rome, they furnished their quota of auxiliaries. See 1. 38. 1.

8. **Inguimero**: the uncle of Arminius; he persuaded the Germans to attack the Roman camp (1. 60. 1). — **moles ruentium**: *the mass of those dashing upon them*. — **operuere**: example of zeugma with *tela* and *vis fluminis*. Cf. 2. 29. 2, *manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens*. See Introd. § 40. 2.

9. **nisi**: *mounting, climbing*; a poetical sense. Cf. Verg., Aen. 2. 443, *nituntur gradibus*. — **alios prorutae arbores adflixere**: *others were dashed to the ground when the trees were cut down*; literally, *the trees, when felled, dashed others, etc.*

18. 1. **Quinta ab hora**: i.e., from six in the morning, hence eleven o'clock.

2. **Tiberium imperatorem**: it was a time-honored custom to salute the victorious general as "*imperator*." Such distinction, like the honor of the triumph, was bestowed only on those who fought *suo imperio* and *suis auspiciis*, and since the *legati* were simply agents of the emperor, all such honors were reserved for the *princeps* himself. —

tropaeorum: a Greek custom adopted by the Romans about B.C. 121, according to which, in commemoration of the victory, pieces of arms were affixed to the trunk of a tree, in some elevated place, after the manner of a trophy. The Romans, however, preferred triumphal arches or other memorials in Rome, or in provincial towns, to such trophies. Cf. 2. 22, 1; Verg., Aen. 11. 511.

19. 1. ea species: that sight, or spectacle. Cf. 3. 60. 6, *magnaue eius diei species fuit*.

2. plebes . . . senes: note the asyndeton which is characteristic of Tacitus in vivid narratives and in summaries. Cf. 1. 2. 1, *senatus magistratum legum*, etc. See Introd. § 37; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 133–138.

3. deligunt locum, etc.: this description is so obscure and indefinite as to make it quite impossible to locate the place with any assurance of accuracy. Editors vary considerably. It would appear from the fact that the Romans had in front of them the *agger* separating the territories of the Cherusci and Angrivarii which faced north, that the Roman army was marching to the north. But we do not know what river was referred to, though it is most generally supposed that it was the Weser. The Romans at least had the river and mountains in their rear. Knoke thinks the locality was in the vicinity of Leese, about twenty miles north of Minden, and the remains of an *agger* found there tend to confirm this view. Moreover, the topography of that region seems to suit the description. He holds that the German line extended from the *agger* at Leese southeast to the Rehburg hills with the center about Düsseldorf, and that the Romans approached from the plains to the south of Loccum. — **Angrivarii:** they dwelt on both banks of the Weser in Hanover, their name being preserved in Engern, which term was applied to this part of Saxony in the Middle Ages. — **extulerant: had elevated.** Cf. 1. 35. 5, *elatum*.

4. Hic: in reference to the *agger*, which marked the boundary. — **propinquis lucis: among the nearby groves;** ablative of place construed as means. The exact location of these groves is of course unknown, but perhaps they were on the southwest slope of the Rehburg hills.

20. 1. prompta: visible, manifest; in reference to the movements of the infantry to be seen on the *agger*, in contrast with the hidden (*occulta*) movements of the cavalry concealed in the woods.

— in *perniciem ipsis*: *to their own destruction*; *ipsis* is a dative of reference.

2. *Seio Tuberoni*: brother of Sejanus; he is supposed by some (Nipperdey) to have taken the place of Apronius (1. 56. 2), who was in Rome (cf. 2. 32. 4). — *aggerem eniteretur*: note the accusative without *in* after *eniti*. Cf. Hist. 1. 23. 2, *et immensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur*; Colum 2. 2. 27, *ut spe cessandi totum spatium bos agilius enitatur*. — *arduum*: sc. *erat*. — *sibi*: sc. *sumpsit*, or a similar word to be supplied by zeugma from *permisit*.

3. *succederent*: *had been scaling*. Cf. 2. 81. 2, *succedere*. — *superne*: attributive use of adverb, like *comminus* below — a Graecism adopted from Livy. Cf. 4. 55. 8, *circum*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 23.

4. *funditores libritoresque*: the *funditores* were slingers who used as their missiles small rocks and leaden bullets (*glandes*), while the *libritores* used leather thongs (*lora*), hurling large rocks and stones.

5. *tormentis*: the engines of war, including *catapulta* and *balista* (see 1. 56. 5, note).

6. *Primus Caesar*: Germanicus himself led the assault when once the works had been taken. — *conlato gradu*: *foot to foot*; it was a hand to hand fight and every inch of ground was contested. Cf. Hist. 2. 42. 4, *in aggere viae collato gradu*, etc.

7. *claudabant*: there was no place for retreat, either for the Germans or the Romans, and no hope except in valor and no safety except in victory. It was a desperate struggle and no quarter was shown and no captives taken.

21. 1. *colligeret*: *recover*. This metaphorical use of *colligere* is recorded nowhere else. — *stabile*: *stationary*, unable to move about on account of the trees and thickets. — *scutum*: the Roman *scutum* was rectangular and curved so as to fit closely to the body (*adpressum*), unlike the broad flat German shield which did not fit snugly around the body. — *insidens capulo manus*: *their hands firmly grasping the hilts* (of the swords). — *ora foderet*: cf. 2. 14. 4, *ora mucronibus quaerent*. The Romans with their short swords must have wrought deadly havoc upon the unprotected faces of the Germans. — *imprompto*: *not quick*, or *active*; a rare compound. Cf. Livy 7. 4. 5, *quia infacundior sit et lingua impromptus*; Auson., Idyll. 2. 9, *sermone impromptus Latio*. — *sive*: *or perhaps*. Tacitus

occasionally omits the first *sive* as here. Cf. 13. 15. 6; Hist. 1. 18. 2. — **recens**: adverb. This adverbial use is not recorded for Caesar or Cicero. But it is found in Sallust and Livy (38. 17. 15), though, as Wölfflin notes, only with participles or with adjectives used participially.

2. **tota volitantem acie**: *as he flew hither and yon throughout the whole battle*. Cf. Livy 4. 19. 2, *volitantem tota acie cognoscet*.

3. **insisterent**: jussive subjunctive representing an original command.

4. **sero**: substantive *serum*, *late in the day*, a usage found first in Livy. Cf. Livy 7. 8. 4, *serum erat diei*; *ib.* 26. 3. 1; Hist. 3. 82, *ad serum usque diem*. — **ambigue**: *with doubtful success*, which is a euphemism for defeat.

22. 1. **congeriem armorum**: *congeries* is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring only here in Tacitus. This trophy must have been like that described in chapter 18. 2.

3. **Angrivarios**: see 8. 4. Furneaux thinks that the same kindred tribe or a western portion of this tribe is here meant as being reduced to full submission. — **ni properavissent**: there is an ellipsis in this construction as though *et bellum iis illatum esset* had been added. *Properavissent* represents a future perfect indicative in direct discourse.

23. 1. **aestate iam adulta**: *now in midsummer*; each season, according to Servius (ad Verg., Aen. 1. 43), was divided into one month periods, designated respectively, *novus*, *adultus*, *praeceps*, so that the time here indicated must have been about the middle of July. Cf. 11. 31. 4, *adulto autumno*. — **per Amisiam**: this might indicate, as Allen argues, that he had left the fleet in the river (see 8. 2). — **invexit**: followed by the dative as in Suetonius, Aug. 41, *invecta urbi . . . gaza*; and Curt. 9. 2. 27, *quae illud mare litoribus invehit*.

2. **mille navium**: see 2. 6. 2. — **remis . . . impelli**: *resounded with the oars or was set in motion by the sails* (propelling the ships). — **atro . . . globo**: *from a black mass*; ablative of source without preposition after *effusa*, a construction also occurring in Sallust (Iug. 69. 2, *effusum oppido*) and frequently in Livy. — **incerti fluctus**: the waves were uncertain in their course and unlike the regular swell. — **regimen**: *the guiding or steering*; before Livy the

term is confined to the poets; of frequent occurrence in Tacitus. — **prudantium**: *the skilled or experienced*, i.e., sailors who had been trained to the service.

3. **in austrum cessit**: cf. 1. 1. 3, *cessere*. This southwest wind proved very destructive to the fleet. — **tumidis**: *high, mountainous*, in reference to the mountainous region of central and southern Germany. See Agric. 10. 6, *montes causa ac materies tempestatum*. See Crit. App. — **insulas**: the low-lying islands near the mouth of the Weser, or Ems.

4. **mutabat aestus**: *the tide changed*, used intransitively. Cf. 12. 29. 1, *in superbiam mutans*. When the ebb tide began it carried the ships with the wind, thus causing the work of destruction. — **manantes**: *leaking*; the ships were strained by the force of the storm, so that they were leaking badly and, in addition, they took water from the waves which broke over them (*fluctu superurgente*). — **superurgente**: this is nowhere else recorded (*ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*). See Introd. § 38 (b).

24. 1. **truculentia**: an archaic word which Tacitus resuscitated from Plautus, Truc. 3. 2. 6, *truculentus*. On this effort on Tacitus's part, see Introd. § 42; Wölfflin, *Philologus* XXV, 106 seq. — **vasto et profundo**: supply *mari* from the following *mare*. — **novissimum**: *the extreme limit of the world*. — **sine terris**: *without bounds, unbounded by lands*.

2. **insulas longius sitas**: not the same islands as those mentioned above (chapter 23. 3), but possibly those off the coast of Schleswig or some remote island in the North Sea, the identity of which cannot be established. — **toleraverant**: *had sustained*; not found in this sense in Cicero. Cf. Caesar, B.C. 3. 58, *his rationibus equitatum tolerare*.

3. **scopulos**: far from rocky, this is reputed to be a sandy shore. — **oppeteret**: sc. *mortem*. Cf. Verg., Aen. 1. 96, *contigit oppetere*.

4. **relabente aestu et secundante vento**: *when the swell subsided and the wind became favorable*; and set in toward the shore. — **claudae**: *disabled*. Cf. Lucr. 4. 436, *at maris ignaris importu clauda videntur navigia*, etc.; Livy 37. 24. 6. — **intentis vestibis**: *with clothes spread out*; i.e., for sails.

5. **Angrivarii**: see 2. 22. 3, note. — **redemptos ab interioribus**: those who, surviving shipwreck, had been captured and made slaves

of by the inland tribes. Such unfortunates the Angrivarii redeemed and restored.

6. **monstra maris**: Pedo Albinovanus who was perhaps an eye-witness thus wrote of this shipwreck: *illum pigris immania monstra sub undis. Qui ferat Oceanum, qui saevas undique pristis aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis*, Sen., Suasor. 1. 15. — **ambiguas** . . . **formas**: i.e., the sea-monsters were part man and part beast, of indeterminate nature. Note the genitive of the alternatives after *ambiguas*. Cf. 2. 40. 2, *ambiguus pudoris ac metus*.

25. 2. **ire**: a poetical construction (found also in Sallust) for the final clause of normal prose (see Introd. § 32). — **in Chattos**: Germanicus no doubt intended this expedition as a demonstration to hold the Chatti in check and to prevent their assisting their neighbors. — **aquilam**: of the three eagles lost at Varus's defeat, one had been recovered the year before (cf. 1. 60. 4) and the third is said to have been recovered from the Chatti in the time of Claudius (Dio 60. 8. 7).

4. **excindit**: *extirpates*, a rather strong term which smacks of rhetorical exaggeration. Cf. 12. 39. 4; Hist. 5. 16. 2.

26. 1. **animi**: a genitive of respect, — with adjectives a common construction in Tacitus, especially with *animi*. Cf. Livy 1. 58. 9, *consolantur aegram animi*. See Introd. § 21 (d).

2. **patrari**: *brought to an end*; this archaic verb is not found in Caesar and seldom in Cicero. Cf. Sallust, Jug. 75. 2, *tamen spe patrandi belli*.

3. **decretum triumphum**: see 1. 55. 1. — **satis iam . . . casuum**: Mommsen (Roman Provinces I, 61 *seq.*) explains the purpose of the Roman people in giving up the frontier of the Elbe under Tiberius as due to the threatening conditions obtaining in Gaul and Pannonia and to the impossible duty of maintaining so distant a frontier with the army and resources at his command. — **noviens**: viz., B.C. 9, B.C. 8, A.D. 4, 5, 9, 10 and 11 — in all seven campaigns. Besides these two others may be mentioned, viz., the unimportant embassy of B.C. 7, and the campaign against the Suebi, A.D. 6, which was frustrated by the revolt of Pannonia. — **Sugambros**: this tribe, after being partly destroyed, was transported from their home south of the Lippe across the Rhine and was assigned lands (as "*laeti*") for which they subsequently rendered military

service. See 1. 31. 3, note. — **Suebos**: see 1. 44. 6. — **Maroboduum**: this projected campaign occurred in the year A.D. 6 and was frustrated by the revolt of Pannonia, Tiberius agreeing to terms with Maroboduus (see 44. 3 and 46. 2). — **Romanae ultioni consultum esset**: *the Roman desire for revenge had been satisfied*; they felt that their honor was vindicated. — **internis discordiis**: such as the struggle between the Cherusci and Suebi the following year, the massacre of the Chatti by the Hermunduri, A.D. 58, etc.

4. **modestiam**: *modesty, deference*; note that Tiberius does not peremptorily recall him, but persuades him to retire from the command, offering as an inducement a consulship in another quarter. — **praesens**: i.e., at Rome. He was absent from the city when he became consul (see 53. 1).

5. **deportare lauream**: *to win the laurel wreath*, which was worn in a triumph and afterwards consecrated to the Capitoline Jupiter. Cf. Suet., Domit. 6, *De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Iovi rettulit*.

6. **parto iam decori**: *from an honor already achieved*; dative after *abstrahi*. Cf. 2. 5. 1, *suetis legionibus abstraheret*.

27. 1. Sub idem tempus: the alleged offenses are thought to have begun really earlier, about the time of Tiberius's accession, according to Suetonius (Tib. 25). — **Libo Drusus**: in the calendar of Amiternum (cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IX. 4197) he is called Marcus. But Suetonius (Tib. 25) and Dio Cassius (57. 15) call him L. Scribonius Libo, perhaps by confusion with his brother, who was consul this year (see 1. 1 and 29. 2). It is worth while to observe that the charges here specified (and Tacitus alone gives the detailed charges) turn on astrology and magic simply. — **defertur**: Tacitus is fond of using the infinitive (*moliri*) with this and other verbs of accusing. Cf. 3. 22. 1; 6. 19. 1; 13. 23. 1, etc. On the practice of delation which was so grossly abused till Domitian's death, see 1. 72. 3, note. It was during the reign of Tiberius that these abuses began to develop, and this special case is the first, or among the first, in which persons are found to inform the emperor (by private communication) upon friends whom they have entrapped, an abuse which grew to be a menace to the public weal. See *Introd.*, art. Tiberius.

2. **Firminus Catus**: he forged charges of treason against his own

sister for which he was banished; on his punishment see 4. 31. 7. — **facilem inanibus**: *easily susceptible to idle schemes*; *inanibus* is here a dative neuter. — **Chaldaeorum**: *astrologers*; sometimes called also *mathematici* (32. 5 and Hist. 1. 22. 1). The Chaldeans were noted for their knowledge of the stars and claimed to be able even to foretell a man's destiny from the relative position of the stars at his birth. Their art was widespread and popular at Rome about this period and they numbered even the rulers among their patrons. — **magorum sacra**: *the rites of the magicians*. The magicians who practiced the art of divination by means of drugs, spells and incantations were originally the priests of the Medes and followers of the ancient religion of Zoroaster. But their practices degenerated ultimately into fortune-telling and sham magic rites, — practices which proved quite popular in the latter days of the republic and early days of the empire. — **somniorum etiam interpretes**: the ability to interpret dreams was included among the arts of the *magi*, and the professors of this art swarmed in Rome during the republican times. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III. 100; Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* III, 135. — **consobrinos Caesares**: these were Gaius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus. The relationship has been carefully traced out by Nipperdey. M. Scribonius Libo Drusus was a grandson of L. Scribonius Libo, consul B.C. 34, whose sister Scribonia was the consort of Augustus and the great-aunt to Libo Drusus. The sons of Agrippina and Germanicus (Nero and Drusus Caesar) as great-great-grandchildren of Scribonia through Julia were the distant cousins of Libo Drusus. His mother was a daughter of Sextus Pompey and granddaughter of Pompey the Great. The origin of his surname Drusus is uncertain, his pedigree being confused by adoption and re-adoption. — **plenam imaginibus**: the reference is to the *ius imaginum*, which meant the right of having waxen images of one's distinguished ancestors — a privilege accorded the nobility only, and therefore a characteristic of that class. These images or masks were kept in the *atrium* and were exhibited in funeral processions. — **socius . . . necessitatum**: i.e., it was a temptation to him to luxury and debt by making it easy for him to borrow money with which to indulge his proclivities. Cf. 1. 11. 6, *necessitates*, where the word is used in a somewhat different sense — that of *pecuniary obligations*, of whatever sort.

28. 1. eadem the alleged offenses. — **noscerent**=*agnoscerent*, *would acknowledge*, subjunctive of potentiality. — **Flaccum Vescularium**: probably one of Tiberius's advisers. See Suet. (Tib. 55). On his death see 6. 10. 2. — **cui . . . erat**: *who was on more intimate terms with Tiberius*. Allen sees in this requirement of an intermediary the beginnings of a court in the modern sense.

2. congressus: a conference with Catus. — **commeare**: *pass to and fro*; messages (*sermones*) could be interchanged through Flaccus as an intermediary. Cf. 4. 41. 3, *cum per milites commearent*.

3. interim: Suetonius, like Tacitus, intimating that Libo was guilty, says (Tib. 25) that he waited two years before bringing the matter to an issue, and describes the precautions taken by Tiberius against assassination. — **convictibus adhibet**: *entertained him at a banquet*; a highly-prized honor, as evidenced by Vespasian's thanking Gaius in the senate for an invitation (Suet., Vesp. 2). See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* I, 74, 94. — **ut infernas . . . eliceret**: *to raise ghosts*; a variety of magic recognized and practiced in antiquity among races so far removed as the Greeks (mentioned in the *Odyssey*) and the Hebrews (story of the witch of Endor). Cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 8. 98; *Aen.* 4. 490; Tibullus, 1. 2. 45; Hor., *Sat.* 1. 8. 29, etc. — **Fulcinium Trionem**: this noted informer was consul A.D. 31; accused Piso (3. 10. 1 and 13. 2) and was himself later accused and forced to take his own life (6. 4. 3; 6.38. 2). — **indiciu[m] detulit**; the initial step in the procedure of delation, the witness giving his testimony to the professional delator, who in turn would report the case to the magistrates.

4. corripit: *indicts*; a technical sense in this connection, though the word is also employed in the sense of physical arrest. — **adit consules**: cf. 1. 72. 4, note; also 73. 3, note. — **cognitionem**: especially signifies a trial by the senate in contradistinction to a court trial (*indiciu[m]*).

29. 1. veste mutata: *having put on mourning*; a practice resorted to by the accused in order to excite sympathy. — **vocem . . . poscere**: he sought the aid of their advice against the impending perils.

2. aegritudine: Dio (57. 15. 4) states that, afflicted with a deadly malady, he was brought to trial in his illness, *on-purpose*. — **lectica delatus**: only the emperor thus came to the senate and he only in case

of illness (Suet., Tib. 30). — **fratri**: supposed to be the consul of that year, Lucius Libo (1. 1), but not so mentioned here since, his term having expired on the first of July, he was succeeded by the consul suffectus. In the reign of Augustus the custom was established (it had been introduced by the triumvirs in B.C. 39) of electing the consuls for six months and not for the entire year (1. 55. 1, note), and after Tiberius the tenure of the office was still further reduced, so that there were three or four pairs of consuls frequently in the same year. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II. 82. — **manus ac voces . . . tendens**: *tendens* is thus applicable to *voces* only by zeugma, of which this is a striking example. See Intro. § 40. 2. Cf. Verg., Aen. 2. 688, *et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit*. — **libellos**: *accusations, the documents containing the charge*. Cf. Iuv. 6. 244, *componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos*. — **ita moderans ne**: *exhibiting such self-control as not to appear*. After *modero* the dative is usually found, hence some editors supply here *sibi*.

30. 1. Fonteius Agrippa: mentioned elsewhere (chapter 86. 1) as offering his daughter as a vestal. — **C. Vibius**: probably the elder C. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of Spain, who was banished for violence and ferocity in his administration (4. 13. 2) and accused by his own son (4. 28. 1). — **certabant**: in case several persons desired to conduct the prosecution, the magistrate decided by *divinatio* which one should be selected for the purpose; as in the case of Cicero and Caecilius, in the impeachment of Verres. — **ius perorandi**: *the privilege of pleading*; the formal speech was delivered at the close of the prosecution after the evidence had all been submitted. — **singillatim**: *one by one, singly*; this practice of taking up the counts in the indictment, item by item, permitted them to be argued separately as Cicero did in the case of Verres, thus expediting the trial. Nero followed this practice in trials before himself. — **libellos**: documents belonging to Libo. — **consultaverit**: sc. *Chaldaeos*, in the sense *the fortune-tellers*. — **viam Appiam**: a distance of 360 miles along the famous highway, the queen of Roman roads. Such a charge as is here implied was, of course, perfectly absurd. But it involves the implication that only as emperor could he hope to possess such vast wealth.

2. Uno tamen libello: this is the first serious charge, those previously mentioned being manifestly absurd. *Libello* is a dative

after *adesse* to be supplied from *inerant* above. — **atroces vel occultas notas**: *deadly or mysterious characters*; i.e., the mysterious symbols were deadly; or if they could not be understood, at least they aroused suspicion.

3. **adgnoscentes**: slaves, as Nipperdey notes, were compelled to testify under torture even when they were willing to state voluntarily, in order to render the evidence valid in law. — **quaestio in caput domini**: on the rule of the ancient Romans, see Cicero, *Pro Mil.* 22. 59; *Pro Deiot.* 1. 3. It does not appear why Tiberius had recourse to this subterfuge. — **novi iuris**: according to Dio (55. 5. 4), Augustus had recourse to this subtle device as early as B.C. 8. Tiberius went even farther in such trials (Dio 57. 19. 2). — **repertor**: found chiefly in the poets; but from Sallust on, it occurs also in prose. Cf. 4. 11. 3, *Sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur*. — **actori publico**: *public steward, treasury agent*; he was generally a slave, or a freedman. Of course, the slaves, after passing out of the possession of their former master, might be forced to testify against him without violation of any decree of the senate (*salvo senatus consulto*).

4. **posterum diem**: such delay (technically called *comperendinatio*) was designed to give the accused opportunity to go into voluntary exile, or to commit suicide. Seneca (*Epist.* 70. 10) states that while he hesitated, his aunt Scribonia advised him to commit suicide. — **P. Quirinio**: P. Sulpicius Quirinius, a brave soldier, was consul under Augustus and decreed a triumph for his successes in Cilicia. See 3. 22 and 3. 48.

31. 1. ut senatum roget: the senate alone had jurisdiction in the premises. — **cum . . . vocare**: Tacitus is fond of the historical infinitive, frequently employing it in a temporal sentence to describe the time when the state of things began, provided it has been already specified by a finite verb, as here (*Introd.* § 32 (c)). Cf. 2. 40. 1, *cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere*; 4. 50. 6, *cum Sabinus circumire*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 172. — **epulis excruciat**: *harassed by his fears during the very dinner*; i.e., he feared the soldiers had come to dispatch his life. — **percussorem**: *murderer*; here, probably, not a professional murderer, but one of his own slaves who should inflict the deadly blow. — **inserere**: sc. *dextris*.

2. **evertentibus**: in their confusion and fright, the slaves upset

the lamp upon the table and Libo took advantage of the ensuing darkness to strike the fatal blow with his own hand. — *feralibus iam sibi tenebris*: in the darkness, now to him that of death; because he never saw daylight again.

3. *abstitit*: the soldiers retired since Libo was now dead, whom they had been commissioned either to guard or to execute.

4. *adseveratione eadem peracta*: the charge was carried through with the same seriousness. — *petiturum*: sc. *fuisse*. Tacitus frequently omits the infinitive *fuisse* and *fore* when the tense is clearly indicated by the context. See *Intro.* § 29. 3. — *nocenti*: though guilty; dative of personal interest.

32. 1. *Bona . . . dividuntur*: the practice at this time was to give at least one fourth of the estate of him who anticipated conviction by suicide to his accusers. But in the present case, for some unknown reason, the entire estate went to the accusers. — *praeturae extra ordinem*: Tiberius had given assurance (1. 14. 6) that he would not make more than twelve praetors, which was the legitimate number. But, according to Dio (58. 20. 5), he sometimes exceeded this number by three or four. There was only one vacancy, if the praetorship of Libo was of this year, and the accusers were four in number, at least three being of senatorial rank. It follows, therefore, that these two or three praetors *extra ordinem* must have been added in advance of those for next year.

2. *Cotta Messalinus*: the son of Messala, the statesman and orator, who was adopted by Aurelius Cotta. Cf. 4. 20. 6; 5. 3. 4; 6. 5. 1, etc. — *ne imago*: a similar penalty was inflicted upon the families of Brutus and Cassius (see 3. 76. 5). — *Cn. Lentulus*: served with Drusus, of whom he was a warm supporter, in Pannonia (1. 27. 1), accused of the charge of sedition, but acquitted (4. 29. 1). On his death see 4. 44. 1. — *cognomentum*: among the most notable instances of a family rejecting by agreement a particular cognomen was that of the Manlii, who rejected the name Marcus on account of the treason of Marcus Manlius (Livy 6. 20). The cognomen in the present case was prohibited probably because of its association with the imperial family, the father of Germanicus and his son and the son of Tiberius all bearing this cognomen.

3. *Pomponii Flacci*: now consul elect (2. 41. 2), later governor of Moesia (2. 66. 3); died *legatus* of Syria (6. 27. 3).

4. **Dona**: see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI. 1, 91–94 for fragments of inscriptions found in the ruins of the Temple of Concord above the arch of Septimius Severus. See also Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I. 2. 333. — **L. Piso**: it is uncertain whether the lost name is here correctly restored. If this is the correct reading, it is a matter of doubt what L. Piso is meant. Probably he was the brother of Cn. Piso. See 2. 34. 1; 3. 11. 1. — **Gallus Asinius**: see 1. 8. 4. — **Papius Mutilus**: M. Papius Mutilus was consul suffectus A.D. 9, and joint author with his colleague of the *Lex Papia Poppaea*. — **L. Apronius**: see 1. 56. 1. — **auctoritates: opinions, suggestions**. — **vetus . . . malum**: i.e., sycophancy, adulation.

5. **de mathematicis**: i.e., the astrologers. Such resolutions had been passed before. — **saxo**: sc. *Tarpeio*. Such was the penalty for false witness, sorcery and incest. — **portam Esquilinam**: within the present *Porta Maggiore*, where such executions regularly took place. See Suet., Claud. 25. — **cum classicum**, etc.: it was a time honored custom to summon a citizen to trial on a capital charge by sounding the trumpet in various public places and before the house of the accused on the morning of the trial. — **more prisco advertere**: the punishment inflicted, according to the ancient custom, upon a public enemy was to put him naked in the pillory and beat him to death. Frequently he was flogged for a while and then beheaded. Such punishment was meted out to Nero, of whose death Suetonius says: *cum comperisset nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae corpus virgis ad necem caedi* (Nero 49). — **advertere**: for a parallel case of *advertere* with *in* and the accusative in the sense of punishing see 5. 9. 1, *Placitum posthoc ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur*.

33. 1. Haterio: see 1. 13. 4. — **praetura functo**: i.e., one who had filled the office of praetor, in contradistinction to one who was merely of praetorian rank (*praetorius*), since many by special favor were granted this honor (*ornamenta*) who had never held the office. Cf. 2. 67. 4, *praetura functus*; 3. 31. 4. — **auro solida**: borrowed from Vergil, Aen. 2. 765. — **foedaret**: in early times, only woolen garments were used by the Romans, silk being regarded effeminate and indecent.

2. **Excessit**: *went farther*. Cf. 2. 24. 1, *excessit*. — **familiae**: *domestics, family servants*. C. Caecilius Claudius is reported to have

left at his death, B.C. 8, the exceptional number of 4,116 slaves according to Pliny (N. H. 33. 135). — **erat quippe**, etc.: regarded by Nipperdey as an interpolation, inasmuch as these words describe a practice of introducing matter not germane to the question under consideration, whereas Fronto's proposition was entirely relevant to the subject. However, it is to be supposed that a senator, when called upon by the consul to give his vote (*dicere sententiam*) upon the pending proposition, might add to it whatever he saw fit. A familiar case in point is Cato the Censor, who closed so many of his speeches with the words *censeo Karthaginem esse delendam*. — **e re publica**: for the public weal. Cf. 3. 53. 1, *dicere quid e republica censeam*. — **frequens**: usual.

3. **apud Fabricios**: note the plural for the singular. Fabricius, 'the Roman Aristides,' was noted no less for his simplicity of life than for his integrity and strength of character. He was a hero in the war against Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.). In his time a citizen might not possess more of silver plate than one dish and a salt-cellar; and as censor he expelled from the senate Publius Cornelius Rupinus because he possessed ten pounds of plate (Liv. Peri. 14). — **apud Scipiones**: the Scipios flourished in the second century B.C. From Fabricius's time to theirs Rome had witnessed a marked increase in wealth and luxury. — **rem publicam**: condition of society. — **referri**: are considered in reference to. — **qua tenui**: ablative absolute expressing time in contrast with *postquam . . . venerit* (Intro. § 41). — **angustus**: sc. *esse*. — **eo magnificentiae**: to that degree of grandeur. — **gliscere**: grow in resources, etc.

5. **Distinctos**: sc. *a censu plebis*. — **senatus et equitum census**: according to Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 876 and 499), the senatorial census was rated at one million sesterces (about \$50,000), the equestrian census at four hundred thousand sesterces (about \$20,000). — **locis**: places in the theater. The senators occupied the orchestra and the knights, by the Roscian law, the first fourteen rows of the *cavea*. — **ordinibus, dignationibus**: in rank, in honors; the first refers to the class (senatorial and equestrian), the second to their qualifications for office as indicated by wealth, birth, etc. — **dignationibus** is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in the plural. — **ut . . . ita iis**: (sc. *antistare*); as they are superior in place, rank, honors, so likewise they are superior in those things which are devised for,

etc. — *nisi forte . . . cendum esse*: Draeger (*Syntax und Stil* § 147) observes that this Greek construction with the accusative and infinitive in *oratio obliqua*, though not without parallel in modal and causal clauses, is found only in Tacitus in hypothetical clauses.

6. *Adiecerat*=*addiderat*. Cf. 4. 21. 3, *adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse*. — *non id tempus censurae*: under the republic the censor was the *corrector morum*; but in imperial times the emperor took over this function. So then Tiberius, by an extension of the tribunician power, probably originated such measures of reform as the times demanded, in accordance with this present suggestion (*nec . . . defuturum corrigendi auctorem*).

34. 1. *L. Piso*: see 4. 21. 4, for an account of his accusation and death. He was consul in the year B.C. 1. — *ambitum fori*: *intrigues of the law courts*; literally, *the going round about the forum*. Cf. 1. 2. 2, *ambitu*. — *abire . . . cedere*: *that he intended to go away and retire*. — *relinquebat*: *he was preparing to leave*.

3. *liberi doloris*: *of frank indignation*. — *Urgulania*: favorite of Livia and grandmother of Plautius Silvanus (see 4. 21. 1).

4. *abscessit*: *desisted*. Cf. Livy 26. 7. 2, *abscedere incepto*. — *violari et imminui*: *that she was insulted and degraded* (by such procedure).

5. *hactenus*: *so far*, qualified by *ut . . . diceret*. — *civile*: *as a lawful matter*; i.e., for any citizen. — *procul . . . militibus*: *ordering his guards to follow at a distance*. Cf. 1. 7. 7, *miles in forum miles in curiam comitibatur*.

6. *tempus atque iter*: hendiadys (Intro. § 39. 4). Cf. 3. 74. 6, *gaudio et impetu*; 11. 6. 1, *famam et posteros*. — *coërcentibus*: his friends advised Piso not to press the suit.

8. *virgines Vestales*: the vestals were accorded the highest distinction and their persons were sacred and inviolable, and yet even they attended the Forum and courts of justice whenever their evidence was required. But Urgulania disdains to appear as a witness in court. — *quotiens . . . dicerent*: subjunctive of repeated action. Cf. 2. 5, *quotiens per urbes incederet*. See Intro. § 34 (a).

35. 1. *Res prolatas*: the vacation or postponement of business on the part of the courts and the senate for the "*villeggiatura*." It is a legitimate inference from this passage that it was Tiberius's

habit to be in attendance frequently at the sessions of the law courts and the senate. — **pretium**: sc. *operae*. Tacitus alone omits *operae* with *pretium*, worth while. Cf. 1. 57. 4, *pretium fuit*.

2. **afuturum**, etc.: according to Suetonius (Tib. 38, *praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenuis, nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies*), this expressed intention of Tiberius of being absent was a mere pretence. — **agendas**: sc. *res*. — **equites**: i.e., as *judices* in the courts, not to be confounded with the judicial capacity of the senate (1. 72. 4, note, and 73. 3, note).

3. **speciem libertatis praeceperat**: *had anticipated him in a display of independence*. Cf. 1. 55. 1, *praecepit*. — **conventum . . . provincias**: *the vast volume of affairs which came to Rome from all parts of Italy and the influx of provincial business, pertaining to taxes, public contracts, law-suits, etc.*

4. **dilatae**: a variation from the more common *prolatae*, which see above.

36. 1. **in quinquennium**: *for five years in advance*. This was the practice Caesar had followed in the elections. But Tiberius seems here to propose, not that elections should be held once in five years simply, but that the magistrates for the next five years should be named at once and also, annually, those for the fifth year from that date. — **utque legionum legati**: this proposal contemplates: (1) that those who were present in command of legions (*legati pro praetore*), since many of them were not yet of praetorian rank, were to be appointed at once to the praetorship; and (2) that the rest of the appointments for the five years were to be made by the emperor. Note how Tacitus here in his desire for variety purposely avoids uniformity of expression, *comitia habenda utque . . . destinarentur* (Intro. § 41).

2. **penetrare**: the use of the infinitive instead of *quin* with the subjunctive after negative expressions of doubt like *haud dubium* is a mark of late Latin, say, from Livy on. See Intro. § 32 (b); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 146. — **arcana imperii**: *secret principles of imperial government*. One of the principles of autocracy was the withdrawal of military power from the senate and its complete transfer to the emperor. Cf. 2. 59. 4, *Nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana*; also 1. 6. 6. — **quasi augeretur**: in this manner Tiberius's power would theoretically exceed his life by five years,

but practically not so, since such appointments were usually set aside on the accession of a new prince. — *grave moderationi suae*: it was not in keeping with his moderation. Cf. 6. 26. 2, *grave famae suae*. — *differre*: for the next five years.

3. *mens, domus, fortuna*: *sentiment, family connections, resources*; all of which might easily change in the next five years.

4. *annua*: a year in advance. Furneaux thinks that the usual period of designation was probably less. — *honorem*: i.e., as magistrates elect. The consul elect outranked the *consulares* and was given precedence over them in the senate in the expression of his opinion (*sententia*), and so with the other magistracies. It is implied here that it would develop arrogance and haughtiness in the magistrates if they enjoyed such distinction for five years.

5. *quinquiplicari*: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; on analogy of *multiplicari*. — *leges*: the laws regulating the age at which the various magistracies could be held, the constitutional provisions touching the tenure of the offices, the time required to lapse between them, etc. — *Favorabili*: in favor, popular; the word is not found prior to the Augustan writers and first in Velleius Paterculus. Cf. 12. 6. 1, *favorabili oratione*.

37. 1. *Censusque*: *wealth, property*; as listed in the census. That is, by gratuities Tiberius helped some of the senators to keep their property up to the required mark. Velleius Paterculus states that this was a frequent practice with him — *senatorum censum . . . quam libenter supplevit ut neque luxuriam invitaret neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui* (2. 129. 3). — **Marci Hortali**: M. Hortensius Hortalus, a scion of the noble house of Quintus Hortensius, the celebrated orator and rival of Cicero. — *in paupertate manifesta*: Quintus Hortensius, the great orator, was noted for his extravagant tastes upon which he lavished his wealth. His son Hortalus (the father of the present Hortalus) was a dissipated man who fought on Caesar's side in the civil war. After Caesar's death in B.C. 44, he went over to the side of Brutus and was captured and put to death after the battle of Philippi (Harper's Dict. of Class. Antiq.). Thus the property of the family had been squandered and lost. — *accepisset*: subjunctive of partial obliquity.

2. *inlectus*: *induced*. Note Tacitus's use of the simple infinitive after this word instead of a final clause or gerundive construction

(Intro. § 32 (a)). Cf. 4. 12. 7, *proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare*. — **liberalitate**: gift; abstract for concrete, as often in Tacitus (Intro. § 1 (b)). — **decies sestertii**: 1,000,000 sesterces, about \$50,000, the required census for a senator (see 1. 8. 3, note). Augustus and Tiberius after him frequently bestowed gifts upon aristocratic families. See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* I, 123. — **suscipere**: a technical term used in reference to the formal act of a father of indicating his recognition of his own child at birth and of his lifting up the child, laid at his feet, with the intention of rearing it. On a father's refusal thus to do, the babe was exposed on the mountains, which usually meant death.

3. **loco sententiae**: when invited to give his opinion on the question under discussion. Cf. 2. 33. 2, *loco sententiae*. — **in Palatio**: it was the practice of Augustus in his old age to hold the senate in the library of Apollo located on the Palatine (Suet., Aug. 29). The walls of this library were adorned with the images of eminent men.

5. **studia populi**: favor of the people. — **gentile domus nostrae bonum**: the hereditary gift of our house. Valerius Maximus (8. 3. 3) says that Hortensius's gift of oratory was passed on only to a limited extent to his daughter, who once appeared before the triumvirs to plead against a tax imposed on matrons. — **varietate temporum**: by the change of the times. — **accipere vel parare potuissem**: though his paternal inheritance had been lost and he had little to look forward to from inheritance (*accipere*), still the change of times did not prevent his advancement through his own exertions (*parare*). *Potuissem* is subjunctive of cause. — **satis habebam si**: the time referred to is that before his marriage. Cf. 4. 38. 1, *satisque habere si*, etc.

6. **tot consulum, tot dictatorum**: rhetorical exaggeration, since the annals of the Hortensian gens show only one consul — the orator Hortensius, B.C. 69 — and one dictator — Quintus Hortensius, B.C. 286, who was the author of the *Lex Hortensia*. A consul *designatus*, B.C. 108, completes the honors on the spear side of the house. There may have been some honor to the credit of the family on the spindle side of the house, since the orator had married a Lutatia and a Marcia.

7. **alumnos**: foster children; because reared by the will and favor of the emperor.

38. 1. *incitamentum*: not mere malignity, as Nipperdey takes it, but rather an occasion for Tiberius to thwart Hortalus more readily and check the senate, whose sympathies had been aroused.

3. *egredi aliquando relationem*: a noted example is the famous *sententia* of Cato — *ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem*. — *augeamus*: perhaps an example of zeugma with *negotia* (Intro. § 40. 2). — *senatus et principum*: objective genitives. — *sive indulserint largitionem*, etc.: *whether they grant or refuse the desired public bounty*. Nipperdey explains *indulserint* and *abnuerint* as future exact; Draeger (*Syntax und Stil* § 190) as subjunctive perfect. Perhaps the view of Nipperdey is more satisfactory.

4. *modestiam*: *sense of propriety*. — *perfringere aerarium*: *to break through into the treasury*. — *ambitione*: *by way of courting popularity*. Cf. 1. 67. 4.

5. *compellatus*: *accosted*; i.e., solicited to give.

6. *alioqui*: *otherwise*. If help is always to be given, diligence will languish. — *intendetur*: *will be magnified*; this sense of the verb is confined chiefly to Tacitus. Cf. 2. 57. 3, *amici accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera*. — *ex se metus aut spes*: *no hope or fear touching themselves*. Their hopes and fears as to their own condition ought to serve as a spur to their efforts.

7. *quibus omnia . . . honesta atque inhonesta*: strikingly suggestive of a passage in Sallust (Iug. 80. 5), *quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat*.

8. *ducena sestertia*: 200,000 sesterces each; i.e., about \$10,000, the census of the fourth decury of judges added by Augustus to the three chosen from the senators, *equites* and *tribuni aerarii*. See Suet., Aug. 32.

9. *retinens*: such a participial construction with the objective genitive is of more frequent occurrence in Tacitus than any other Latin author (Intro. § 21 (c)). Cf. 1. 64. 6, *sciens*; 1. 75. 4, *cupiens*; 2. 64. 4, *impatiens*, etc. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 70.

39. 1. *perculisset*: *had prostrated*. Cf. 4. 31. 7, *perculerat*.

2. *Postumi Agrippae*: see 1. 3. 4 and 1. 6. 1. — *Clemens*: Dio (57. 16. 3) agrees with Tacitus in assigning this incident to this year. But Suetonius (Tiberius 25), confusing the original with the subsequent plan, says that Clemens at the death of Augustus got together no inconsiderable band for avenging his master. — *Germanicos*: the

slave had no personal connection with the legions in Germany to warrant such action as Agrippina (4. 67. 6) had; but he probably knew that those legions were ready to revolt at any time. — **conceptit**: *conceived the design*; this verb is seldom followed by an accusative and infinitive or a simple object infinitive as here (Intro. § 32). Cf. Cic., *De Off.* 3. 29. 107, *ut mens conciperet fieri oportere*; Vell. 2. 117. 3, *conceptit esse homines*.

3. **praecipitia**: *rash*. Cf. 15. 29. 1, *praecipitibus*. — **furatur cineres**: to destroy the evidence of Agrippa's death. — **Cosam**: an ancient Etruscan city situated on the highest promontory on the Etruscan coast and most accessible from Planasia. The Romans established a colony here in B.C. 273. — **promitteret**: he let his hair and beard grow in order, no doubt, to heighten his resemblance to Agrippa who perhaps had rather long, unkempt hair and beard (*rudis bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferox*, 1. 3. 4). As Nipperdey observes, the Romans at that time wore no beard and their hair short. — **in dominum**: an exceptional construction after *dissimilis*, showing Tacitus's fondness for the prepositional phrase as a substitute for the dative (Intro. 36 (c)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 80, b.

4. **crebrescit**: *the story spread*; the verb occurs only here with the accusative and infinitive. It is first used by Vergil. Cf. 3. 60. 2, *crebrescebat*.

5. **incertis**: neuter plural of the adjective instead of abstract noun, as often (Intro. § 3). — **relinquebat . . . praeveniebat**: when he became too well known in a region, he would leave it and go to another place where the story had not spread. Note the combination of these imperfects with the historical infinitives (*adire, aspici*). See Intro. § 32 (c).

40. 1. **Ostiam**: this town, situated on the left bank of the Tiber, at its mouth, served as the harbor of Rome, from which it was sixteen miles distant. — **celebrabant**: it appears that the slave Clemens, having publicly entered Ostia, made his way secretly to Rome where secret gatherings greeted him. Some editors think that Clemens did not enter Rome, however; until he was carried in chains to the emperor [(in *Palatium traxere*). — **cum . . . distrahere**: note the historical infinitive here in a subordinate *cum* clause. Cf. 2. 4. 4, *sed ubi minitari Artabanus*. See Intro. § 32 (c); Draeger, *Syntax*

und Stil § 172. — **suum**: emphatic, because whatever property had belonged to Agrippa, the heirs of Augustus as his adoptive father would have inherited when his property was made over to the *aerarium militare* (Dio 55. 32. 2).

2. **ambiguus**: here followed by the genitive as in 2. 24. 6, *ambiguas hominum*. — **Sallustio Crispo**: it was he by whom the murder of Agrippa had been brought about. See 1. 6. 6.

3. **simulata conscientia**: *under feigned complicity*. Under pretence of understanding his plot, they offer their assistance in carrying it out. — **pericula**: they promise they will undertake perilous deeds for him.

5. **Quo modo tu Caesar**: perhaps in a spirit of bravado, reminding Tiberius that he was no Caesar, or, as imputing fraud to him, as Furneaux thinks. — **subigi**: usually followed by the infinitive. Cf. 1. 39. 4, *tradere . . . subigunt*.

6. **Nec Tiberius**, etc. = *et Tiberius non ausus*. In silver Latin *nec* and *neque* have the force of *ne . . . quidem* (Gildersleeve-Lodge, Lat. Gram. § 480, note 1). Cf. 2. 34. 7; 3. 54. 11; 4. 26. 2, etc. — **haud quaesitum**: Tiberius, no doubt, deemed it best not to make an investigation of such disquieting rumors.

41. 1. **arcus**: fragments have been found of an inscription which probably adorned this triumphal arch (C. I. L. VI. 1. 906), which is thought to have spanned the sacred way at the corner of the Basilica Julia, opposite the temple of Saturn. See Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, p. 254. — **aedem Saturni**: ruins of this temple consisting of eight Ionic columns are still to be seen in the Roman Forum, hard by the modern street running through the Forum near the Capitoline hill. This temple which was restored in the fourth century was used as the treasury (*aerarium*). See Platner, p. 178. — **recepta signa**: see 1. 60. 4; 2. 25. 2. — **ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii**: every military achievement, no matter by what general accomplished, was referred to the *auspices* of the emperor. Cf. 2. 18. 2; 2. 22. 1. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1156. — **Fortis Fortunae**: the goddess of lucky chance. A pilgrimage to her sanctuary founded by Servius Tullus was made down the Tiber below Rome, both by land and water, on the anniversary of the foundation, 24th June (Ovid, *Fasti* 6. 777), and this festival was especially popular with the poorer classes and the slaves. The temple must have been near

the site of the original shrine founded by Servius. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 577; also Platner, p. 510.— **in hortis**: these gardens were situated on the right bank of the Tiber. See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 546. Cf. Suet., *Iul.* 83; Horace, *Sat.* 1. 9. 18.— **sacrarium**: this shrine to the Julian family was located at *Bovillae*, an ancient town in Latium at the foot of the Alban hills, on the Appian way, about ten miles from Rome. This family claimed descent from Iulus, the founder of Alba.

2. **C. Caelio, L. Pomponio**: of the former little or nothing is known; on the latter, see 2. 32. 3, *Pomponii Flacci*, note.— **triumphavit**: this triumph which had been voted two years before (1. 55. 1; 1. 72. 1) is described by Strabo (7. 1. 4), who mentions among the chief persons adorning it Deudorix, a Sugambrian, and Libes, a priest of the Chatti.

3. **simulacra**: it was the custom to exhibit models of the conquered countries in the triumphal procession, as well as captives. Josephus (*Bk.* I. 7. 5. 5) tells us that many such models were exhibited in the triumph of Titus.

4. **Augebat intuentium visus**: intensified the gaze of the spectators.— **eximia ipsius species**: Germanicus was a man of imposing physique (1. 33. 3). Suetonius (*Cal.* 3) says, *Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praezellens benevolentiam singularem, conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium*. — **quinque liberis**: viz., Nero, Drusus (whom Tiberius murdered, 6. 23. 4), Gaius ("Caligula"), Agrippina (mother of Nero) and Drusilla. Julia, his last child, who was born afterwards at Lesbos (2. 54. 1), is, of course, not included.

5. **reputantibus**: best taken with Nipperdey as an ablative absolute (*Introd.* § 28 (b)), though it may be taken as a dative of reference.— **avunculum**: Germanicus's mother was Antonia, who was a half-sister to Marcellus (1. 3. 1), their mother being Octavia, the sister of Augustus, whose first husband was Gaius Marcellus and second, Mark Antony.

42. 1. trecentos . . . sestertios: 300 *sestertii*, about \$15.00. Marquardt (*Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 138) estimates the bene-

ficiaries at 200,000 at this time. — **consulatui**: for the following year. See 2. 53. 1.

2. **Rex Archelaus**: he was established in the kingdom of Cappadocia by Mark Antony in the year B.C. 36. Augustus had extended his kingdom, and Tiberius had once defended him against the complaint of his subjects (Dio 57. 17. 3). — **Rhodi agentem**: see 1. 4. 4. — **coluisset**: subjunctive of alleged reason.

3. **Gaio Cesare**: son of Agrippa and Julia and grandson of Augustus, born B.C. 20, died A.D. 4. Tiberius could not expect to succeed to the throne as long as Gaius Caesar lived. Upon the death of Gaius and his brother Lucius and the murder of Agrippa Posternus, the succession passed to Tiberius, Augustus's stepson. See 1. 3. 2. — **versa** = *eversa*. Tacitus is fond of using simple for compound verbs (Introd. § 30). Cf. 1. 7. 5, *posuit* for *proposuit*; 1. 71. 5, *firmabat* for *confirmabat*, etc.

5. **vim metuens**: involves the apodosis of the condition *si intellegere crederetur*. — **immiti**: by enallage the adjective for the adverb. — **crimina**: according to Dio (57. 17. 4), he was acquitted; but he died shortly after. — **fessus senio**: *feeble from age*. When he appeared in the senate, he was too weak to stand, being carried in a litter (Dio, *ad loc. cit.*). — **aequa**: ordinary treatment such as a mere man might expect. — **finem vitae implevit**: Tacitus tries to avoid a hackneyed phrase in the expression of common facts, as in the present case, preferring a new phrase. See Introd. § 41.

6. **in provinciam**: the decree reducing his kingdom to a province was carried into effect the following year (2. 56. 4). Cappadocia did not cease to be governed by procurators till about A.D. 75. — **centesimae vectigal**: Tiberius the year before had declared that the tax of one-hundredth per cent was necessary for the maintenance of the army (1. 78. 2). Now, however, since a new province was taken over, the increased revenues were sufficient to justify a fifty per cent reduction of the tax (*ducentesimam partem*).

7. **Antiocho Commagenorum**: Antiochus III was king of Commagene, a narrow strip of land north of Syria and east of Cilicia. It was annexed to the empire, becoming a part of the province of Syria. Caligula, twenty years later, abrogated the Roman suzerainty and restored its independence as a kingdom (2. 56. 5). — **Philopatore Cilicum**: Philopater II ruled over a small kingdom lying

between Commagene and Cilicia. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 228. — **regibus**: note the plural in apposition with two singular substantives. Cf. 3. 62. 1, *pulsis*; 6. 28. 4, *dominantibus*. — **Suria**: Syria was the largest and most important province in the Orient and at this period included Cilicia, which later had its own procurator. — **Iudaea**: this country, reduced by Pompey in B.C. 64, like Cilicia, was attached to Syria, but had a distinct financial administration, under a procurator. On its conquest by Titus in A.D. 70, it was made a separate province.

43. 1. **supra**: chapters 3 and 4. — **vergere**: *was declining*; used of time only by writers of the silver age. Tiberius was fifty-nine, Drusus twenty-nine and Germanicus thirty-one years of age, respectively.

2. **provinciae quae mari dividuntur**: this would include in Germanicus's command all the provinces of Asia; viz., Syria, Cilicia, Bithynia, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cyprus. However, Cappadocia, Lycia, Rhodes and a part of Pontus, being still independent, were not included, though they were sooner or later incorporated into the empire. Nor was Egypt included, since that country was a kingdom, not a province (see 2. 59. 4). — **maius imperium**: it would seem that Germanicus was thus given a *proconsulare imperium* over all the east similar to that which he had held in the west. If so, all the governors of the provinces were subject to his authority. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 1158. 3. — **sorte aut missu principis**: since the governors of the senatorial provinces received their appointment by lot, and those of the imperial provinces from the emperor himself, this phrase seems to be a general designation for both classes of provincial governors.

3. **Creticum Silanum**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus was consul in A.D. 7 and was appointed governor of Syria in A.D. 11. See 2. 4. 4. — **Cn. Pisonem**: at this time perhaps the most prominent living member of his noble and influential family. There is no evidence to show that he was entrusted by Tiberius with the tragic commission of murdering Germanicus. Nor is there any evidence to show that he murdered Germanicus for any special purpose of his own. But there is little doubt that he took delight in Germanicus's death. Furneaux suggests — and his suggestion commends itself to our reason — that Tiberius's suspicious disposition was

aroused by Germanicus's popularity and that the emperor distrusted Piso and that one mistrust was set against the other, Piso being a check on the young "*imperator*" and Germanicus in turn being a check upon him by an "*imperium maius*" on the spot. Now, this shrewd piece of diplomacy resulted in a tragedy which terminated the careers of both of the principal actors, Germanicus and Piso, but in a different way. — **violentum**: Seneca (*De Ira* 1. 18. 3-6) characterizes him as *vir a multis vitiis integer sed pravus et cui placebat pro constantia rigor*, and informs us that he put to death unjustly and in the heat of passion three soldiers during his consulship. — **partes**: the republicans, who made a final stand under the senatorial leaders at Thapsus in Africa, where they were defeated by Caesar. — **petitione . . . abstinuit**: he did not seek a public office because he was not in sympathy with the government. — **ambiretur**: *he was solicited*. Note the use of the infinitive after this verb — an unusual construction in classical prose (Intro. § 32 (a)). Piso was consul suffectus, B.C. 23.

4. **Plancinae**: probably the daughter, or granddaughter, of Lucius Numatius Plancus, who was censor B.C. 22, and the sister of the Plancus mentioned in 1. 39. 4.

5. **insectandi**: perhaps best taken as limiting *monuit*, though it may be taken, as some editors (Nipperdey) interpret it, as a defining genitive modifying *aemulatione* (cf. 3. 63. 5). — **tacitis . . . studiis**: the affections of the court were secretly divided between Drusus and Germanicus. Cf. 1. 4. 5, *quandoque distrahant*.

6. **avunculum**: *his great uncle*; since Augustus was the brother of his grandmother Octavia. See 2. 41. 5, *avunculum*, note.

7. **Druso**: a dative of reference where we should rather expect a genitive (Intro. § 17). — **Pomponius Atticus**: the famous life-long friend of Cicero, to whom he addressed so many of his letters. Atticus's daughter Pomponia married Agrippa and their daughter Vipsania was the mother of Drusus. See 1. 3. 1, note, and 1. 12. 6, note. — **imagines**: i.e., the ancestors of the Claudian house. — **Liviam**: sister of Germanicus and also called Livilla (see 4. 3. 3 foll.). The accusative after *praecelebat*, which is generally used as a neuter verb, occurs nowhere else in Tacitus and is paralleled only in Papi- nian, Digest 2. 6. 5, *ceteros honoris ordine praececellit* (Nipperdey). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 40, c.

44. 1. *Illyricum*: see 1. 5. 5, note. Drusus's commission probably included Pannonia, Rhaetia, Noricum and possibly Moesia; and he must have been sent with *imperium maius* and, like Germanicus, probably had *imperium proconsulare*. — *suesceret*: the neuter present stem of this verb is rare. Cf. 1. 31. 4, *lasciviae sueta*; 2. 52. 4, *suesceret* (used actively). — *luxu*: a quality attributed to Drusus elsewhere (3. 37. 3).

2. *Suebi*: the most powerful race in southern Germany, comprising several independent tribes, most of whom had been unified by the king of the Suebi, Maroboduus, under the federal name of Marcomanni. Cf. Germ. 42. — *Cheruscos*: see 1. 56. 7, *Cheruscis*, note. — *praetendebantur . . . orantes*: a rather awkward construction (Introd. § 35). Translate: *but the Suebi were made the pretext (for the commission), who implored aid against the Cherusci*. — *ac vacui*: *ac* connects *vacui* with the causal ablative *discessu*. Translate: *for on the departure of the Romans and being free, etc.* — *externo* = *externorum*. — *arma in se verterant*: the Germans in general rather than the Cherusci simply. Perhaps Tiberius foresaw this when he withdrew Germanicus (2. 26. 3).

3. *Maroboduus*: the resourceful German prince, who in combining the various tribes of southern Germany (see above) with himself as head, produced the most powerful alliance among the Germans, a force of about 75,000 men, and that, too, in Bohemia, just across the Roman frontier. See chapter 63. — *favor habebat*: a case of *zeugma*, *habebat* having a different meaning in the two clauses. Draeger solves the difficulty by resolving *habebat* in the first clause into *reddebat* and in the last into *sequebatur*. Translate: *But the title of king had rendered Maroboduus unpopular among his countrymen while affection fell to the lot of Arminius as the champion of liberty*. See Introd. § 40. 2 and 3.

45. 1. *Semnones*: the oldest, most famous and most numerous of the Suebian tribes (see Germ. 39), dwelling between the Elbe and the Oder. Tiberius discovered them in the year A.D. 5. — *Langebardi*: this noted tribe dwelt on the south side of the Elbe near its mouth (see Germ. 40. 1). In the sixth century the descendants of this famous tribe, known as the Lombards, invaded Italy.

2. *Inguiomerus*: see 1. 60. 1. — *clientium*: for an account of the retinue of the German princes (*comitatus*) see *Germania*, chapters

13-15. Cf. 1. 57. 4, *clientium*. — *iuveni*: Arminius was thirty-five years old (see 2. 88. 4).

3. *vagis incursibus*: ablative of manner, though some editors take it as ablative absolute. See *Intro.* §§ 27 and 28.

4. *ut quosque advectus erat*: as he approached on horseback each division. Cf. *Hist.* 5. 16. 2, *sed ut quisque suorum advehebantur*. This verb is rarely followed by the accusative of person (*Verg.*, *Aen.* 8. 136). — *ostentabat*: to be taken by zeugma with *libertatem* and *legiones*. — *procliorum expertem*: because he had never fought with the Romans, he is therefore regarded as inexperienced in the art of fighting, though he had fought with other Germans. — *Hercyniae*: the term is applied to the vast region of mountainous country surrounding Bohemia, which was the seat of the kingdom of Maroboduus. — *proditorem patriae*: he had concluded peace with Tiberius on favorable terms (2. 26. 3, note). — *satellitem Caesaris*: according to Strabo (7. 1. 3. 290), he had received gifts from Caesar during his sojourn in Rome when a young man.

5. *penes utros . . . fuerit*: which of the two belligerents had the advantage in the war as a whole; i.e., the Cherusci or the Romans. Tacitus (2. 88. 3) refers to the Cheruscan chief Arminius as unconquered in the war, as a whole, though he had lost several battles.

46. 1. *sui*: objective genitive. Cf. 2. 13. 1, *sui*. — *illo in corpore*: in that person. Cf. *Curt.* 5. 35. 4, *in illo corpore posita est victoria nostra*. — *illius consiliis*: not entirely correct, for it was by following Inguiomerus's counsel, despite Arminius's advice to the contrary, that the Germans made their unsuccessful assault on the Roman camp (see 1. 68. 1). — *vagas*: scattered. The manuscript reads *vacuas* (retained by some editors). Draeger changes to *vagas*, implying that after leaving the main road in the Teutoburg Forest, the legions became separated and failed to keep together. — *coniunx cum filius*: see 1. 57. 5; 1. 58. 9.

2. *duodecim legionibus*: if the number is correct (it appears recorded nowhere else), it follows that the army was four times as great as Varus's army in size and indicates how vast must have been the kingdom of Maroboduus to put such a formidable army in the field at one time (A.D. 6). — *ipsorum*: the Marcomanni. — *integrum . . . bellum*: the war with unimpaired resources. Cf. 15. 18. 1, *integro adhuc bello*; *Hist.* 2. 57. 1, *ad integrum bellum pro antiquo*

decore aut recenti libertate. The contrast is between the ancient honor of the Cherusci and the newly established freedom of the Langobardi. The latter had revolted from Maroboduus.

3. *contra*: *on the other hand*; i.e., on the part of Maroboduus. He fought for an extension of dominion (*augendae dominationi*).

5. *perculsi*: sc. *Marobodui*; *of his overthrow*. — *in Marcomanos*: this powerful tribe, mentioned by Caesar (B. G. 1. 51. 2) as uniting with Ariovistus to invade Gaul, had now established themselves in Bohemia, whither they had retired before the Roman invaders. The name of the nation is employed here for the country they occupied.

6. *paci*: an example of the use of the dative for the genitive — an extension of a participial construction common in Tacitus, though found first in Livy. Cf. 12. 4. 3, *rector iuveni*. See Intro. § 17; Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 53. — *firmator*: post-Augustan and very rare. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 10. 29 (38). 1, *conditorem disciplinae militaris firmatoremque*.

47. 1. *duodecim*: Pliny also is authority for twelve; — Nat. Hist. 2. 84. 86. 200, *Maximus terrae memoria mortalium exstitit motus Tiberii Caesaris principatu duodecim urbibus Asiae una nocte prostratis*. An inscription of the year 30 (Orelli, 687) gives the number as fourteen, naming Ephesus and Cibyra in addition to the dozen here mentioned; and this number is confirmed by an inscription upon a pedestal preserved at Naples, which is a copy of the inscription upon the colossus erected to Tiberius at Rome by the cities about A.D. 30. — *Asiae*: the term embraces the western part of Asia Minor. — *quo*: *in consequence of which*; the earthquake occurred in the night and for this reason proved more disastrous.

2. *Sedissee*: from *sidere*, *to sink down*. Cf. 1. 70. 1, *quo levior classis . . . reciproco sideret*; Lucretius 5. 493, *sidebant campi*. — *visa in arduo*, etc.: *level ground appeared on an elevation*. Nipperdey's emendation *enisa in arduum* is unnecessary in view of Tacitus's passion for variety of expression. See Intro. § 41 on inconcinnity as a feature of Tacitus's style.

3. *Sardianos*: the ancient capital of the Lydian and Persian princes and a city of no mean resources, since it rapidly recovered (see 4. 55. 6). — *nam . . . Caesar*, etc.: the emperor pursued no niggardly policy in his treatment of the provinces, a practice almost

the reverse of that Rome followed in republican times. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 243. — **quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant**: whatever contribution they were accustomed to make to the public treasury or the privy purse. This act, no doubt, required a *senatus consultum*. Cf. 4. 13. 1, *factaque auctor eo [Tiberius] senatus consulta ut civitati Cibyraticae apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium*.

4. **Magnetes a Siplylo**: Magnesia was situated on the north-western slope of Mount Sipylus, on the Hermus River, and is not to be confused with the city of the same name on the Maeander (see 3. 62. 1; 4. 55. 3). — **habiti**: an example of zeugma (like *habebat*, 2. 44. 3), the verb being used in two different senses. Translate: *Were regarded as next in extent of damage and treated next in urgency of their relief*. — **Temnios**: these were small cities, Temnos, Aegeae, Myrina and Cyme having been embraced in the ancient Aeolic confederation, while the others named were Lydian cities. Of these, Philadelphia is of course the most famous. — **Mosteni . . . Hyrcani**: these two cities were called respectively *Hyrcania Mostenorum* and *Hyrcania Macedonum*. They are thus designated by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 5. 29. 31. 120). Note that Tacitus, for variety, here changes from the names of peoples to those of places. The use of *aut* here is similar to that in 2. 46. 3, *pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate*.

5. **Ateius**: the MSS. read *Aletus*, which name, the editors have pointed out, is not Roman. Dio (57. 17. 7) indicates that his position was temporarily that of a *legatus Augusti propraetore*. — **ne consulari obtinente**: this measure was adopted to prevent friction, since Asia had regularly a proconsul of consular rank.

48. 1. in **publicam**: i.e., the bounty was generous to the public. The construction shows the author's fondness for prepositional phrases with the accusative as a substitute for the dative (Introd. § 36 (c)). Cf. 1. 76. 5, *in vulgus*. — **Aemiliae Musae**: probably a freedwoman (*libertina*). The fact that her property reverted to the *fiscus* would indicate that she had no heirs and that her former owner was not definitely known. Her relationship to Aemilius Lepidus is evidently uncertain (*videbatur*). — **Aemilio Lepido**: depends on *tradidit*. He is probably the same man as M. Lepidus described as poor in 3. 32. 2 and 3. 72. 3 (*pecuniae modicus*). — **Patulei**: other-

wise unknown. — **in parte**: probably half. It was the custom to leave a part of one's estate to the emperor and in later times this was the only guarantee that the will of the testator would be duly executed and the legitimate heirs receive any part of the inheritance. Augustus is reputed to have inherited by special bequest in the latter part of his life, in round numbers, the vast sum of \$70,000,000 (Suet., Aug. 101). — **M. Servilio**: father of the historian and consul A.D. 3. He appeared as a witness against Lepida (3. 22. 4). — **prioribus neque suspectis tabulis**: *in an earlier and authenticated will*. Wills were usually recorded on waxen tablets and sealed. Cf. Iuv. 1. 68, *exiguīs tabellis*. — **scriptum**: sc. *heredem ex asse*; *named sole heir*.

2. **meruisset**: i.e., *had deserved to be made heir to the estate* (*heres scribi*). Subjunctive of repeated action — rare in Cicero, Caesar and even Sallust, but common in Livy and still more so in Tacitus (Introd. § 34 (a)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 159 and 165. Cf. 1. 7. 8, *cum loqueretur*. — **nuncupantes**: those (wills) which appointed the prince as heir; the word is chiefly found in ante-classical and post-Augustan writers. Cf. Suet., Claud. 4, *e parte sexta nuncupavit*; Calig. 38, *a parentibus inter liberos palam heres nuncuparetur*.

3. **Marium Nepotem**: see Seneca, De Ben. 2. 7. 2, *Tiberius Caesar rogatus a Nepote Mario praetorio ut aeri alieno eius succurreret, edere illum sibi nomina creditorum iussit . . . cum edita essent, scripsit Nepoti iussisse se pecuniam solvi*. — **Appium Appianum**: like Vibidius Virro and Cornelius Sulla, otherwise unknown. — **Q. Vitellium**: uncle of the emperor Vitellius, once quaestor of Augustus (Suet., Vitel. 1 and 2). His brother was Publius Vitellius (1. 70. 1; 6. 28. 1). — **movit senatu**: the emperor acted as censor from B.C. 24, when the office fell into abeyance, till it was temporarily restored by Claudius, and Vespasian and Domitian. The senate could, also, by judicial sentence, expel a member. (Cf. 3. 17. 8; 6. 48. 7.)

49. 1. **coeptasque ab Augusto**: Augustus made an effort to revive the rites of the early national deities which had been crowded out by the importation of fashionable cults from Greece and the East. He thus restored or rebuilt a number of temples, contributing greatly to the adornment of Rome. It was a common saying that he found Rome brick and left it marble, in allusion to the magnificence and splendor of his building activities. — **Libero Liberaeque Cereri**:

Bacchus, Proserpine and Ceres comprised the famous Eleusinian trinity whose cult was introduced into Rome in early republican times and soon became established as the first foreign rites. The temple associated with these Greek rites was vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius at the battle of Lake Regillus, B.C. 496, and dedicated by Spurius Cassius in his second consulship, B.C. 493. On the worship of these Greek deities, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 361, foll. — **Lucio et Marco Publiciis**: these brothers surnamed the "Mallets" (*Malleoli*) were *curule aediles*, B.C. 238, and inflicted many fines for the illegal occupation of public land and with the proceeds founded the temple of Flora, the goddess of blossoms or flowers, and instituted the *Floralia*, a festival in honor of Flora, celebrated 28th April–3d May. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 378; Harper's Dict. Class. Antiq., art. *Floralia*. — **forum holitorium**: this vegetable market was situated between the Capitol and the Tiber, outside the *porta Carmentalis*. The theater of Marcellus occupied a part of the space. — **Iano**: a very ancient Roman divinity worshiped as the sun god, who presided over the beginning of everything and was invoked first in every undertaking. His name is preserved in the first month of the year. As the guardian deity of gates he is conceived as looking both ways and therefore represented with two heads. — **C. Duilius**: the hero of the famous naval victory in B.C. 260, during the first Punic war, commemorated in the *columna Rostrata*.

2. **Spei aedes**: perhaps the temple in the forum holitorium. Cf. Livy 21. 62. 4, *et aedem spei quae est in foro olitorio fulmine ictam*. It was characteristic of the Roman religion to deify such abstract qualities as faith, peace, honor, concord, hope, etc. — **A. Atilius**: consul, B.C. 258 and 254; dictator, 249.

50. 1. **lex maiestatis**: for the beginning of this law which was making such rapid progress in development, see 1. 72–74 and Introd., art. Tiberius. — **Appuleiam Varillam**: her mother was probably Marcella the elder, daughter of Octavia and Marcellus. — **conexa**: *being related*. Because she was connected with the imperial family the crime of adultery was brought under the charge of treason. Augustus had set the example of treating adultery among members of the imperial family as treason, thus straining the law beyond what was intended. Tiberius made a radical departure from the

practice of his predecessor, therefore, when he decided that the charge of adultery should be tried by the Julian Law as in the case of any other person and that language derogatory to the emperor only was to be regarded as *maiestas*.

2. **lege Iulia**: Augustus had this law passed B.C. 17. The penalty prescribed a fine and banishment instead of punishment by the husband, which the old law (see below) prescribed. — **distingui**: Tiberius demanded the charge of treason be distinguished from that of adultery.

3. **secus**: *otherwise than was proper*. Cf. 2. 80. 1, *quamquam coepta secus cadebant*.

5. **adulterii graviolem poenam**: the full penalty of the Julian Law was deportation to different islands for both offenders and, in addition, confiscation of one half of the property of the man and one third of the dowry of the woman. Tiberius mitigated the penalty in the present instance by commuting to a sentence of banishment two hundred miles from Rome (hence in Italy) simply, without confiscation. — **propinquis**: dative of agent, of which Tacitus furnishes about thirty examples (Introd. § 15). Cf. 2. 57. 5, *quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen*. — **Italia atque Africa**: ablative of separation after *interdictum est*.

51. 1. subrogando: *to be substituted, chosen in place of another*. Cf. Livy 35. 6. 6, *ad magistratus subrogando*.

2. **Haterium Agrippam**: the son of Q. Haterius and Vipsania, the daughter of Marcella, who was the daughter of Octavia. See 1. 77.

3. — **propinquum Germanici**: the grandson of Agrippa; he was the nephew of Agrippina, Germanicus's wife. — **lex**: i.e., the *lex Papia Poppaea*, which Augustus had passed B.C. 9, to check celibacy. See 3. 25. 1; 15. 19. 1.

3. **Laetabatur**: Tacitus insinuates that he regarded this as a triumph over law in the interest of autocracy, but there is nothing in the language that implies this, as Allen observes (*ad loc.*). — **neque**: cf. 2. 34. 7, *neque*. — **etiam cum valerent**: i.e., in republican times.

52. 1. Tacfarinate: Mommsen denominates him "an African Arminius," and observes that such warfare as is here referred to between the border tribes must have been permanent (Roman Provinces II, p. 345).

2. **Numida**: at this time not a separate province. Having lost

its independence after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, it became a part of the province of Africa, with which it was united, B.C. 25. From Tiberius's time it was under the control of the emperor, being governed by a *legatus* of his appointment. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 366. — *auxiliaria stipendia meritis*: having served as an auxiliary. See 1. 36. 4, *stipendia meritis*, note. — *per vexilla et turmas*: the cavalry was divided into *turmae* and such a squad might also be called *vexillum*, a term applied to a detached body of infantry. The Numidians being a nation of horsemen, their infantry was probably made up of a few light-armed troops organized, after the manner of Roman auxiliaries, into cohorts and maniples, with their respective *vexilla*. — *Musulamiorum*: a tribe of western Numidia who were subjugated B.C. 1. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* II, p. 345 (cited above).

3. *Maurosque accolae*: those of the Mauri bordering on them, the reference being to the inhabitants of Mauretania.

4. *Romanum in modum armatos*: those organized as Roman auxiliaries, mentioned above (*per vexilla et turmas*). — *suesceret*: the verb is here transitive, though nowhere else so used. Cf. 2. 44. 1, *ut suesceret militiae*. — *copia*: band, squad; the plural is much more common in this sense. Cf. 4. 4. 6, *quae tunc Romana copia in armis*; 4. 27. 2, *disposita classiariorum copia*.

5. *Cinithios*: a tribe dwelling east of lake Tritonis, near the Lesser Syrtis. — *Furius Camillus*: consul A.D. 8, one of the Arvales. See 3. 20. 1; 3. 21. 1. — *pro consule*: Tacitus regularly employs this original form for the more common *proconsul*, as he does *pro praetor* for *propraetor*. Cf. 2. 66. 1; 3. 32. 1; 3. 35. 1; etc. — *conductos*: concentrated; what troops of the allies were under his command he had collected together and combined with his one legion, which was the customary garrison for the province. With these he purposed to attack the enemy. — *spectares*: indefinite second person subjunctive. — *aeque . . . quam*: for the Ciceronian *aeque . . . ac*. Cf. 2. 65. 1; 4. 49. 2; 4. 71. 4, etc. — *ne . . . eluderent*: he did not desire the war to be protracted, fearing that the Numidians would resort to such Fabian tactics, if a large force marched against them. So he held out to them a hope of victory in order to conquer them speedily (*spe victoriae . . . ut vincerentur*).

6. *leves cohortes duaeque alae*: auxiliary troops, the Roman

troops being organized into maniples of infantry and squadrons of cavalry (*turmae*).

8. *recipitorem urbis*: M. Furius Camillus, who saved Rome by his complete victory over the Gauls, B.C. 390. His son was L. Furius Camillus, who was consul B.C. 349 and twice dictator; and yet he was less distinguished than the grandson, who achieved a triumph B.C. 338, and was consul, for the second time, B.C. 345. Perhaps it is the latter that Tacitus means. — *familias*: Publius Furius Philus triumphed B.C. 223, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, B.C. 200. Though of the same gens, these were not of the same family as Camillus. Tacitus seems here to use *familia* for *gens*, as in 1. 4. 3; 3. 48. 2.

9. *Eo prunior*, etc.: *For that reason Tiberius was more inclined to laud his achievements in the senate.* — *triumphalia insignia*: cf. 1. 72. 1, note. — *impune*: Tacitus implies that such a procedure would have excited the envy and ill-will of the emperor had the general possessed any great military renown, or been of an ambitious character.

53. 1. *Sequens annus*: Tacitus seems fond of personifying divisions of time. Cf. 1. 54. 1, *Idem annus*; 1. 49. 3, *dies*; 1. 28. 1, *noctem minacem*. — *tertio*: the regular form of the adverb is *tertium*, which Tacitus did not write here probably because of the disagreeable effect of a succession of sounds ending with the same syllable (*um*). Tiberius's consulship extended over a few days only (Suet., Tib. 26). — *Achaiae*: Achaia, formerly combined with Macedonia, became a distinct senatorial province, B.C. 27, when it included Greece proper, together with Thessaly and Epirus. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 331. Cf. 1. 76. 4, *Achaiam*. — *Nicopolim*: the colony was established by Augustus, opposite Actium, B.C. 31, to commemorate his victory over Mark Antony. This term signifies *city of victory*.

2. *sinus*: the Ambracian gulf, on the north side of which Nicopolis was situated. — *manubias*: Suetonius (Aug. 18) says: *locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit*. These naval spoils were hung up in an ancient temple of Apollo, which Augustus had repaired in Nicopolis, dedicating it to Neptune and Mars. It was here in Nicopolis also that Augustus celebrated the revived quinquennial games to Apollo. —

castraque Antonii: the site of the camp was on the promontory of Actium, across the bay from Nicopolis.

3. ut memoravi: see 2. 43. 6. — **avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius:** the association with Augustus would naturally be pleasing (*laetorum*); with Antonius, melancholy (*tristium*). — **Athenas:** Athens and Sparta were free (*civitates liberales*) and therefore not within the province or jurisdiction of the proconsul. See Marquardt, I, 329. — **uno lictore:** Germanicus, having *proconsulare imperium*, was entitled to twelve lictors. But out of respect to the ancient sovereign state of Athens, he took only a single lictor in lieu of an *accensus*. It was customary for a Roman magistrate visiting a confederate state usually to take no lictor. Cf. Suet., Calig. 3, *libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat*. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* I, 373 and 378.

4. facta dictaque: cf. 2. 28. 3, *cunctaque eius dicta factaque*; 3. 65. 1, etc. — **praeferentes:** *glorying in*; they recounted with pride the ancient achievements and sayings of their countrymen. — **quo plus dignationis**, etc.: *to give greater honor to their adulation*. Cf. 4. 52. 2, *modicus dignationis*; 6. 27. 2, *et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat*.]

54. 1. tramisit Lesbum: the verb is rarely followed by this construction. Cf. Livy 25. 31. 12, *Uticam ab Lilybaeo tramisit*. — **Iuliam:** otherwise known as Livilla.

2. Perinthum: an ancient and famous city on a promontory overlooking the Propontis. — **Byzantium:** on the site of Constantinople. On the relations between this city and Rome at this time, see 12. 62. 1. — **Propontidis angustias:** the Bosphorus. — **os Ponticum:** the mouth of the Black Sea. — **magistratuum iniuriis:** this probably refers to native magistrates as well as Roman governors. Bithynia had recently suffered from a corrupt governor (1. 74. 1).

3. sacra Samothracum: the mysterious rites of the Cabiri in the island of Samothrace which belonged to the Thracian kingdom. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 315. — **Ilio:** not ancient Troy, but a recent city founded by Sulla upon the supposed site of Homeric Troy. It stood on the hill of Hissarlik, the remains of which have been explored by Schliemann. — **nostri:** *our origin*; objective genitive, of which Tacitus is especially fond (Introd. § 21 (a)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 68, a. — **relegit:** *again*

cruised along; rare and poetical. — **Colophona**: a city of the Ionian league. — **Clarii Apollinis oraculo**: a noted oracle reputed to have been founded by Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias. It was highly esteemed in Pliny's day (Nat. Hist. 2. 103. 106. 232). See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 98. 1; Strabo 14. 1.27. 642.

4. **Mileto**: an important city of the Ionian league. — **litterarum et carminum**: of letters and poetry.

5. **per ambages**: in an obscure, enigmatical manner. Cf. Livy 1. 56. 9, *per ambages*; *ib.* 1. 54. 8, *tacitis ambagibus*; An. 12. 63. 2. — **maturum exitum cecinisse**: to have foretold his early death.

55. 1. **destinata**: his design of thwarting the plan of Tiberius of effecting the death of Germanicus. — **oblique . . . perstringens**: he probably censured him in an indirect manner, without mentioning his name. Cf. 5. 2. 2, *oblique perstringens*. — **tot cladibus**: Athens had sustained many losses at the hands of Philip of Macedon, B.C. 200, and during the siege and attack by Sulla, B.C. 86, and had had its fleet annihilated at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31. — **conluviem illam nationum**: Demosthenes denounced his fellow-countrymen for their too ready bestowment of citizenship. When citizenship could be bought openly, as was the case in later times, Augustus forbade the flagrant abuse, B.C. 21 (cf. Dio 54. 7. 2). — **adversus Sullam**: Mithridates forcibly occupied Athens during the war called after him, according to Vell. Pat. (2. 23. 4), *oppugnabantur ab amicis, et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habebant*.

2. **in Macedones improspere**: their supineness during Philip's activity. — **violenter in suos**: the flagrant cases of ingratitude toward their own public men which their history furnishes. — **Areo iudicio**: by a verdict of the Areopagus, which was the supreme court of Athens. *Areo* for *Areipagi* is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. — **falsi damnatum**: convicted of forgery. Cf. Hist. 2. 86. 2, *falsi damnatus*.

3. **compendia maris**: cf. 1. 63. 6, *compendiis viarum*. — **raperet in abrupta**: drove [Piso] upon a reef; *Pisonem* is to be supplied from *inimici* below. Cf. 2. 23. 3, *insulae saxis abruptis*; 15. 42. 3.

4. **veteres centuriones**, etc.: the appointment of these officers was exclusively in the hand of the emperor and therefore this act was unconstitutional. — **haberetur**: for *perhibetur*. Cf. Verg., Aen. 12. 134, *qui nunc Albanus habetur*.

5. *feminis*: dative after *decora*. — *decursibus*: *manœuvres*. Cf. 3. 33. 3, *praesedissee nuper feminam exercitio cohortium decursu legionum*.

6. *praeverti*, etc.: it was a matter of more urgent solicitude to him to apply himself particularly to the Armenians. Cf. 4. 32. 2, *si quando ad interna praeverterent*.

56. 1. *Ambigua*: *untrustworthy*. Cf. 2. 67. 1, *quamvis ambiguum*. — *hominum ingeniis*: their sympathies were divided between the Romans and Parthians. — *late praetenta*: hardly accurate for the time of Tiberius, when Armenia, as Furneaux observes, touched only the new provincial frontier of Cappadocia and Commagene, on the Euphrates. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3. 692, *praetenta*; *ib.* 6. 60. — *ad Medos*: the Media here meant was Media Atropatene (chapter 4. 2) lying northwest of Greater Media and corresponding roughly to the present Persian province of Azerbaijan. — *discordes*: *at variance with them*; i.e., both empires. The word is frequently so used with the dative. Cf. 3. 42. 3; 11. 6. 1; 14. 38. 4. — *adversus Romanos odio*: because they were enemies. — *in Parthum invidia*: because the Parthians were rivals.

2. *amoto Vonone*: see chapter 4. 4. — *Zenonem, Polemonis regis*, etc.: this king of Armenia was the son of Polemo I, who had been made king of Pontus and Armenia Minor by Antony and Octavius, B.C. 34. This kingdom did not become a part of the Roman empire till Nero's time (A.D. 63), when it was annexed to the province of Galatia as Pontus Polemoniaca. — *celebrant*: *practice*. Cf. 15. 44. 4; *Hist.* 2. 49. 7; *Dial.* 24. 2.

3. *Artaxata*: the capital of Armenia, named after its founder, King Artaxias. The form here is ablative singular in apposition with *urbe*, though generally used as a neuter plural. — *insigne regium*: the royal crown.

4. *Cappadoces*: see chapter 42. — *Q. Veranium*: a legatus of Germanicus and accuser of Piso and Martina (see 2. 74. 2; 3. 10. 2; 3. 13. 3; 3. 19. 1). After organizing the province he returned to Germanicus (2. 74. 2).

5. *Q. Servaeus*: a legate of Germanicus who organized the province of Commagene, accused Piso (3. 13. 3), and was himself condemned (6. 7. 2). — *ad ius praetoris*: *to the jurisdiction of a praetor*; i.e., to the status of a province. The province of Commagene thus

was annexed to Syria. In A.D. 38 Gaius established a king of Commagene, viz., Antiochus III (Dio 59. 8. 2); but in Vespasian's time it was again annexed to Syria. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 398; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* II, 21, 43, 48, 129.

57. 1. **socialia**: the affairs of the allies (= *res sociales*). — **laetum . . . habebant**: *did not keep him in a happy frame of mind*. Cf. 2. 65. 1, *nihil aequè Tiberium anxium habebat*.

2. **Cyrrī**: a town (now called Choros) on the main highway from Antioch to Commagene. — **decumae legionis**: called "*Fretensis*." — **firmato**: *composed*; so as not to indicate fear.

3. **accendendis**: best taken as dative after *callidi*. This dative gerundive is of frequent occurrence in the *Annals* (Intro. § 16). — **intendere**: *aggravated*; historical infinitive (Intro. § 32 (c)). Cf. 2. 38. 6, *intendetur socordia*.

4. **paucis familiarium adhibitis**: *admitting a few of his intimate friends to the interview*. Cf. 3. 10. 6, *Igitur paucis familiarium adhibitis*. — **precibus contumacibus**: *with ironical entreaties*. — **apertis**: see Crit. App. — **Post quae**: an expression of frequent occurrence in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 13. 1; 2. 86. 1; 3. 11. 12; etc. — **dissentire manifestus**: this rare locution of the infinitive after this adjective is poetical, in imitation of the Greek, and occurs only in one other place in Tacitus (Dial. 16. 2, *manifestus est accingi*).

5. **Nabataeorum**: a people occupying the greater part of north-west Arabia with Petra as their capital. Trajan conquered them and converted their territory into the province of Arabia. — **coronae**, etc.: similar presents are mentioned in 14. 24. 6. — **principis Romani**, etc.: these honors of a banquet and presents were not so much in keeping with the taste of a Roman prince as of a Parthian prince. — **in luxum**: he added many strictures upon luxury, intended of course for Germanicus.

58. 1. **memoratuos**: *to remind of* (their friendship and the treaty which Phraates had made with Augustus, chapter 1). Cf. 4. 46. 4. See Intro. § 35 (c). — **accederet**: i.e., King Artabanus; note the simple accusative here after this verb as in 12. 31. 3, *quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant*. — **Vonones**: see 2. 4. 4. — **haberetur**: *he held in custody*. Cf. 2. 63. 5, *Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitur*. — **gentium**: Parthia and Armenia.

2. **cultu sui**: *the distinction intended for himself* (referring to the compliment above mentioned). — **cum decore**: *with becoming grace (decor)*; a poetical term which was a favorite with Quintilian.

3. **Pompeiopolim**: the ancient town of *Soli* (now Mezetlu), in Cilicia, which Pompey restored, giving it his name, after he had suppressed the pirates in those parts, B.C. 67. — **Pisonis**: as a rebuff to Piso; objective genitive (Intro. § 21).

59. 1. **M. Silano, L. Norbano**: consuls, A.D. 19, who were the patrons of the *Lex Iunia Norbana* (see 13. 27. 2). — **cognoscendae antiquitatis**: a gerundive genitive modifying the entire sentence (Intro. § 22). Tacitus makes rather sparing use of this apparent Grecism. Cf. 3. 27. 1, *tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae*; 3. 9. 2, *vitandae suspicionis*. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 205.

2. **provinciae**: Egypt was really a kingdom and the emperor was the nominal king who appointed common knights (*equites modici*) as viceroys. The country was never formally made a province. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 749, 764, 859; Roman Provinces II, 253. — **horreis**: the public granaries of Egypt were of special importance as the chief source of the Roman corn market. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 135; Mommsen, Roman Provinces II, 274. This action of Germanicus, some editors think, may have diminished seriously the supply of corn at Rome for the year (see 2. 87. 1, *saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento pretium*, etc.). Suetonius (Tib. 52) says that it was in consequence of a famine that he went to Egypt (*Alexandream propter immensam et repentinam famem*). — **pedibus intactis**: i.e., he wore sandals (*κηρίδες*), not the Roman shoe (*calceus*). — **P. Scipionis aemulatione**: the Romans censured as a menace Scipio's practice of imitating foreign manners in his dress. See Livy 29. 19. 12, *cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio*, etc. The Greek pall corresponded to the Roman toga.

3. **cultu habituque**: *for his manners and dress*. Cf. 1. 10. 7, *de habitu cultuque*. — **sponte**: *permission*; frequently used with a genitive in Tacitus. Cf. 4. 7. 3, *sponte praefecti*; 6. 31. 4, *sponte Caesaris*, etc.

4. **dominationis arcana**: *secret counsels of power*. Cf. 2. 36. 2, *arcana imperii*. — **seposuit**: *reserved, sequestered*. Egypt, according to Augustus's policy, was a sequestered and preëmpted country

over which the senate had no control; and since that land furnished Rome her principal corn supplies, the emperor administered it himself and regarded its administration among the secret counsels of the government. On Italy's dependence upon other countries for her grain supplies Tacitus elsewhere (3. 54. 6) says, *At hercule nemo refert quod Italia externae opis indiget*, etc. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 441 foll. — **claustra terrae ac maris**: the defense of the empire by sea and by land. Alexandria at one end, and Pelusium at the other end; of the delta of the Nile commanded the entrance to Egypt and these could both be held by a small garrison against vast armies.

60. 1. Canopo: Canopus or Canobus, an ancient city situated on the extreme western mouth of the Nile, was a flourishing place till the founding of Alexandria, which soon developed into a formidable rival and later eclipsed it. Its ruins are said to be found a little west of Abukir. Note the anastrophe of the preposition *a*, which occurs occasionally in Tacitus (4. 43. 6, *apud*; 15. 53. 3, *in*). See Intro. § 39. 2.

2. ob sepulchrum: on this tradition see Pliny, N. H. 5. 31. 34. 128; Strabo 17. 1. 17. 801.

3. proximum amnis os: the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile is called, also, Heracleotic. *Os* is the object of *visit*. — **Herculi**: a temple to Hercules stood in ancient times near the city of Canopus and that deity was regarded by the natives as allied to the sun-god. — **veterum Thebarum**: Pliny (Nat. Hist. 8. 46. 71. 185) records that Germanicus also visited Memphis, where he received an omen of his approaching death in that the bull Apis refused food from his hand, — *Germanici Caesaris manus aversatus est haud multo postea extincti*. Ammianus Marcellinus (22. 14. 8) confirms this story. Tacitus here uses *veterum*, editors think, in order probably to signify that this was the oldest city of that name. The picturesque ruins (*vestigia*) of the colossal temples and other buildings of this city are still to be seen about Karnak and Luxor.

4. structis molibus: on massive structures of stone, in reference to the gigantic ruins of the temples. Furneaux thinks the reference is to those at Luxor and Karnak. — **litterae**: these hieroglyphics are more fully described elsewhere (11. 14. 1). — **priorem opulentiam complexae**: representing its former resources. Cf. 4. 55. 7, *auctamque*

adhuc Lydorum opulentiam; Sall., Cat. 6. 3, *invidia ex opulentia orta est*. — *septingenta milia aetate militari*: an army of 700,000 fighting men seems so enormous that it can hardly be taken to mean that Thebes alone possessed so vast a force. It must mean the aggregate army of Egypt. — *regem Rhamsen*: Rameses II, the famous third king of the 19th dynasty (B.C. 1250). His mummy was discovered at Deir-el-Bahari in 1881. The Greeks called him Sesostris. He is portrayed in "the hieratic attitude" in the huge colossus at Tanis, Sàn (the largest colossus known). See Edwards, Pharaoh, Fellahs, etc., p. 53; Breasted, History of the Ancient Egyptians, ch. xxii. — *Libya*, etc.: the surviving monuments show that Rameses's conquests were never so extensive as here indicated, and this statement must therefore be taken with a mental reservation. — *Medisque et Persis*, etc.: note how the author, ever fond of variety of expression, changes from names of countries to names of peoples, from plural to singular and vice versa, for the sake of variety (Intro. § 41). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 5. — *Bithynum . . . Lycium ad mare*: by the Bithynian sea is meant the Euxine and by the Lycian sea, the part of the Mediterranean between Cyprus and Rhodes. The territory comprises all of Asia Minor except Thrace.

5. *Legebantur*: this record is confirmed by the hieroglyphics still preserved and accessible. — *odores*: spices and perfumes formed no inconsiderable item of wealth among the nations of the Orient in ancient times.

61. 1. *Memnonis saxea effigies*: one of the famous colossi of Amenophis III, of the 18th dynasty, still standing among the ruins of Thebes in Egypt. The Greeks believed that this statue, sixty feet high, represented the hero Memnon, son of Dawn. Tradition records that it would whisper at sunrise, — a sound which Pausanias compared to the breaking of a harp-string, — whence the name, "the vocal Memnon," was bestowed upon the colossus. The sound heard when the rays of the morning sun greeted the statue was explained as Memnon's salutation to his mother (the goddess of dawn). The sound is supposed to have been caused by the sudden expansion of the cold air in the crevices due to the increase of heat when the sun shone upon the statue. The statue was damaged by an earthquake, B.C. 26, but was later restored, perhaps by Septimius Severus, with certain alterations. Cf. Juvenal 15. 5, *Dimidio magicae resonant ubi*

Memnone chordae. — *pervias arenas*: a mistaken notion, since the pyramids repose on a rock plateau, not shifting sand. — *pyramides*: those near Memphis, not those at Thebes. — *lacus*: the lake Moeris, near Memphis, built about B.C. 2200 by a king of the 12th dynasty. — *angustiae* . . . *altitudo*: sc. *fluminis* (*Nili*). At the first cataract the Nile is narrow and the current so swift that it is exceedingly difficult to touch bottom. — *nullis inquirentium*, etc.: *not capable of being sounded by any lengths of line of the investigators*; *penetrabilis* is poetical and post-Augustan, occurring only here in Tacitus (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*).

2. *Elephantinen ac Syenen*: Elephantine is an island in the Nile situated opposite the city of Seyne (Assouan), and these form the natural boundary between Egypt and Nubia. — *claustra*: *bounds*. Cf. Livy 9. 32. 1, *velut claustra Etruriae*. Strabo (17. 1. 12. 797) records that Rome had three cohorts stationed here. — *nunc*: at the time of this writing, after Trajan had completed his eastern campaign (A.D. 116), by which he extended the Roman frontier to the Persian Gulf. — *rubrum ad mare*: *the Indian Ocean*, specifically the Persian and Arabian seas, not the Red Sea. Cf. 14. 25. 2, *ad litora maris rubri deduxit*. Pliny (N. H. 6. 24. 28. 107) says that the Romans called this body of water *mare rubrum* from the belief that the color came from the reflection of the sun, or from the sand and earth, or from the nature of that body of water.

62. 1. *Dum ea aestas*, etc.: the narrative is resumed from chapter 46. Nipperdey, following Steup (*Rheinisches Museum* XXIV, 72), transposes chapters 62–67, inserting them between chapters 58 and 59, on the ground that they belong to the narrative of the preceding year and should therefore be placed before chapter 59. — *utque* . . . *insisteretur*: coördinate with *ad discordias* and depending on *illiciens*.

2. *Gotones*: the Goths were at this time settled along the Vistula, near its mouth (see Germ. 43), whence they subsequently migrated to the region of the Black Sea, along the Danube. Some editors think that not the German *Gotones*, but the Celtic *Gotini* who lived in Silesia are here meant. — *Marobodui*: on this king of the Marcomanni, see 1. 44. 6; 2. 26. 3; 2. 43–44.

3. *regiam*: perhaps the place Ptolemy (2. 11. 29) calls *Μαρόβουδον*, situated near Budweis in Bohemia.

4. **ius commercii**: this privilege was probably guaranteed by the treaty Rome had with Maroboduus (see 2. 45. 4).

63. 1. **Noricam**: the province of Noricum, formed about B.C. 16 and governed by a procurator, comprised the territory along the Danube from the Tyrol to beyond Vienna; i.e., eastern Bavaria and a part of the Austrian empire. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 290. — **praefluit** = *praeterfluit, flows along*. Tacitus, like Livy, often uses verbs compounded with *prae* for *praeter*. Cf. 2. 6. 5, *praevehitur*, note. — **vocantibus**: *inviting him*, in alliance.

2. **fide qua** = *eadem fide qua*, as in 2. 78. 1. Such an ellipsis, according to Draeger, is not found before the *Annals*. Cf. 2. 67. 4; 12. 24. 4; 16. 17. 3.

4. **Extat oratio**: this speech must have been found in the records of the senate (*acta senatus*). — **magnitudinem viri**: on the power of Maroboduus, see chapter 44. 3. After his overthrow the kingdom of the Marcomanni fell to pieces; but many years later this nation again developed into a formidable people and challenged issues with the Romans under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 166–179).

5. **Ravennae**: this ancient Etruscan city had been earlier designated as the residence of Thumelicus, son of Arminius, where he was kept in exile (1. 58. 9). Maroboduus was to be held at Ravenna as a check and terror to the Suavians in the event they threatened to revolt. — **insolescerent**: *they grew insolent*; a rare word and chiefly post-Augustan. Cf. 2. 75. 3, *insolescente*; Hist. 2. 7. 2; Sall., Cat. 6. 7, *per licentiam inolescere animum humanum*.

7. **Hermundurorum**: this tribe dwelt in northeastern Bavaria between the Marcomanni and the Chatti. See Germ. 41. 1; 42. 1; Annal. 13. 57. 1. — **Vibilio**: he was still king of the Hermunduri as late as A.D. 50 (12. 29. 2). — **Forum Iulium**: modern Fréjus, founded as a colony by Julius Caesar. Being the chief naval station in the west it was selected in preference to Ravenna or Misenum as the port for the ships captured at Actium (see 4. 5. 1). — **comitati**: the personal followers, who were presumably quite numerous to justify such precaution. — **Marum et Cusum**: the March, or Morava, and the Waag; the former river empties into the Danube at Pressburg and the latter at Komorn. — **Vannio**: on his expulsion from his kingdom and his subsequent history, see 12. 29–30. — **gentis**: genitive of quality with brachylogy. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 72.

Cf. 4. 29. 1, *Lentulus senectutis extremae*; 5. 10. 4, *Piraeum Atticae orae*. — *Quadorum*: a mighty people dwelling east of the Marcomanni in Moravia and Hungary, who figure in the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius (166–179).

64. 1. regem Artaxian: see chapters 56. 3 and 62. 1. — *ovantes*: the ovation was similar to a triumph, but granted for less brilliant achievements, such as a minor victory. In an ovation the general celebrating did not ride in a chariot as in a triumph, but marched on foot, wearing a wreath of myrtle and the *toga praetexta* instead of a laurel wreath and the *toga picta*.

2. Martis Ultoris: this temple was erected by Augustus, B.C. 2, in the center of his Forum to commemorate his vengeance on the murderers of Julius Caesar. It was designated as the repository of the insignia of victories, etc. Ruins of it still exist. See Middleton, *Ruins of Ancient Rome* II, 6–8 and 11–13; Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, 276. — *Caesarum*: i.e., Germanicus and Drusus.

3. Thraeciae: Thrace was divided, the Nestus being the boundary between the interior and the seacoast, and the latter part had been united to Macedonia under Roman rule. The reference here is to the interior part of Thrace, which retained its independence. The last uprising of the Thracians was put down by Rome in B.C. 11, but the country was allowed to remain under native princes till formed into a province under Claudius in A.D. 46. Rhoemetalses I, who is here referred to, succeeded his brother Cotys IV in B.C. 20. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 227.

4. arva et urbes: the southeastern part which Cotys held. — *adnexum hostibus*: the part to the north adjacent to the unconquered tribes, the Dacians, etc. Draeger notes that Tacitus here alone uses *adnexum* for *vicinum* for variety. — *ipsorumque regum*: this sentence illustrates how Tacitus in his desire for brevity sacrifices clearness to condensation. The sense is that their temperament corresponded to the character of the country under their rule, the one being mild, the other stern, etc.

5. vertere in se: began to take over, to appropriate.

6. Enimvero: Furneaux observes that this word, here as elsewhere, marks the transition from the less to the more important. Cf. 1. 17. 6; 4. 60. 3; 6. 25. 2; etc. — *immittere latronum globos*: these words recur in this identical order in 12. 54. 4. — *causas bello*: in

apposition with the preceding phrases (see *Introd.* § 9). Tacitus is very fond of such accusative phrase in apposition. Cf. 1. 49. 5; 1. 74. 3; 6. 37. 2. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 77.

65. 1. *anxium habebat*: cf. 2. 57. 1, *laetum habebant*.

2. *facta modestia*: under the pretext of discretion. — *coiretur*: he desired a conference with his nephew as a ruse to accomplish his fell purpose.

4. *sanciendo . . . foederi*: to ratify the treaty. See *Introd.* §§ 14 and 16. Cf. 2. 4. 2, *componendae Armeniae*. — *sacra regni*: the sacredness of royalty. Cf. 1. 42. 4, *sacra legationis*; 13. 17. 3. — *hospitalis mensas*: though the obligation of hospitality was one of the most sacred and solemn among primitive nations, Rhescuporis violated it as well as the obligation of kinship.

5. *Bastarnas*: Tacitus mentions this people elsewhere as a Germanic people (*Germ.* 46). They dwelt in the southern part of Russia along the mouth of the Danube. — *Scythas*: a general designation for the nomadic tribes of Asia and the adjacent part of Europe beyond the Black Sea.

6. *ius et iniuriam discreturos*: would distinguish between justice and wrong; depends upon some clause like *Tiberius rescripsit* implied in the text. — *transferret*: sc. *in Cotyn*. The inference is that he was the aggressor and the burden of proof rested upon him.

66. 1. *Pandusa*: the MS reads *Pandus*. But an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XIV, 2166) records *Ti. Latinius Pandusa*, whom Nipperdey is inclined to identify with the person here mentioned.

3. *placitas semel artis*: the policy once determined upon. Cf. 3. 69. 6, *semper placita*; 4. 37. 4, *placitum iam exemplum*. — *Pomponium Flaccum*: see 2. 32. 3. Ovid (*Ex Ponto* 4. 9. 75) refers to him in a way to indicate that he had already held a command in Moesia, — *praefuit his, Graecine, locis modo Flaccus*. — *veterem stipendiis*: a man of long standing in military service. — *arta cum rege amicitia*: in close intimacy with the king (*Rhescuporis*); ablative of quality.

67. 1. *ambiguum . . . reputantem*: sc. *Rhescuporida*. Note that *ambiguus* is used of persons, as in 1. 7. 4; 2. 40. 2; etc. — *praesidia*: the military stations (on the frontier). His warlike power (see chapter 65. 5) indicated that he be dealt with cautiously.

3. *uxore Cotyis*: the daughter of Polemo and Pythodorus (see Strabo 12. 3. 29. 556).

4. *in . . . inque*: a peculiar sense of *in* (*between*) after *dividitur*. Cf. 1. 55. 2, *dissidere . . . in Arminium ac Segestem*, note. — *liberos Cotyis*: their names were Rhoemetalces, Cotys and Polemo. They were kept at Rome and brought up with Gaius (Caligula). When emperor, Caligula restored Rhoemetalces to his paternal kingdom of Thrace and made Cotys king of Lesser Armenia (11. 9). (Nipperdey.) — *iis*: Cotys's sons were not yet grown. — *Trebellenus Rufus*: the full name of this guardian of Cotys's sons was T. Trebellenus Rufus, elsewhere in Tacitus written Trebellienus (see 3. 38. 4 and 6. 39. 1). — *M. Lepidum*: M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul, B.C. 187 and 175, and pontifex maximus. He was appointed guardian of Ptolemy's two sons Philometor and Physcon, upon the death of their father in B.C. 181.

68. 1. *memoravi*: see chapter 58. 3. — *Albanos Heniochosque*: the Albanians dwelt to the north of Armenia along the Caspian Sea; the Heniochians, a Colchian tribe, dwelt along the Euxine, near the Caucasus; and the Scythians here meant dwelt north of the Caucasus. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* II, 72 foll.

2. *Pyramum*: the most easterly river of Cilicia, which flows from Cappadocia into the sea at Mallus. — *penetrari*: *forded*. Cf. 15. 27. 1.

3. *praefecto equitum*: not so common as *praefectus alae*. — *evocatus*: the word means *called out*, and is used to designate a veteran soldier selected because of special merit to serve with the rank and duties of centurion, after his term was completed. Cf. Caes., B. G. 3. 20. 2, *nominatim evocatis*; *ib.*, B. C. 1. 39. 2. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 387.

4. *Unde maior fides*: *consequently the belief spread*. Cf. Germ. 10. 5, *maior fides*; Hist. 4. 34. 3. — *conscientia sceleris*: the myrmidon of the law, having winked at his escape, was now in dread of betrayal. Suetonius (Tib. 49) goes farther than Tacitus and charges Tiberius with the responsibility of the murder. — *metu indicii*: *from fear of betrayal*; i.e., if Vonones should be permitted to live. He preferred to put the death seal upon Vonones's lips.

69. 1. *Aegypto*: Tacitus shares with the poets a fondness for extending the use of the ablative of place whence to names of coun-

tries without a preposition, as here (see *Introd.* § 23). Cf. 1. 3. 3, *remeantem Armenia*; 3. 11. 1, *rediens Illyrico*; etc. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 56.

3. **abire Suria**: cf. 2. 19. 2, *abire sedibus*. — **admotas**: sc. *altaribus*. Cf. Suet., *Cal.* 32. — **sacrificalem**: an uncommon word and new in Tacitus (see *Introd.* § 38 (b)). — **festam**: a poetical usage, the prose usage being confined chiefly to expressions of time. Cf. 3. 9. 3, *festā ornatu*. — **Antiochensium**: Germanicus was ill at Epidaphna (see chapter 83. 3), a suburb of Antioch. The reason why such action as here indicated was taken was that formal vows in behalf of male members of the imperial family might be regarded as establishing a dangerous precedent. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 776 and 825.

4. **Seleuciam**: i.e., Seleucia Pieria, situated on the coast, near the mouth of the Orontes, fifteen miles west of Antioch, of which it was the port. — **opperiens aegritudinem**: *awaiting the outcome of his illness*. Cf. 11. 26. 2, *opperiri senectam*.

5. **persuasio veneni**: *his own conviction that poison was given him*; a conviction which must have aggravated his illness. — **carmina et devotiones**: *spells, incantations*; hendiadys (*Introd.* § 39. 4). Sorcery had evidently been practiced. — **nomen . . . insculptum**: a description of a rite practiced in sorcery. It involved the writing of the name of the victim upon a tablet, with prayers and imprecations to the gods of the lower world, thus consigning him to the infernal regions. Such leaden tablets have been found with Greek or Latin inscriptions, as, for example, the one discovered in a tomb on the Latin Way (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I. 818). See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 111. — **semusti cineres**: these were human corpses snatched from the pile before they were cremated, hence smeared with gore (*tabo obliti*). — **malefica**: *charms*. Cf. Apul., *De Mag.* 42. 495. — **quis**: archaic form of *quibus*. — **creditur**: Tacitus does not often use the accusative with infinitive after such passives, preferring the nominative with infinitive (see *Introd.* § 32). — **missi**: *the messengers* (see *Introd.* § 35).

70. 1. **per metum**: a peculiarity of Tacitus is the use of *per* with the accusative to express instrument (*Introd.* § 36 (d)), as here. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 89, 105.

2. **liberis**: there were two children with him, Gaius (Caligula)

and Julia, an infant (see chapter 54. 1). The others were in Rome. — *festinare et urgere*: Piso was impatient and too eager to get control of the province and the legions.

3. *defectum*: worn out, weakened; the participle is confined to the poets and silver age. Cf. 4. 29. 1, *defecto corpore*. — *amicitiam* . . . *renuntiabat*: a formal act of renunciation of which Suetonius (Cal. 3) says, *Ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticis ultionem, si quid sibi accideret*. — *iussum* . . . *decedere*: Germanicus probably had no legal power, despite his *imperium maius*, to dismiss a governor appointed by Tiberius. But the relations between Piso and Germanicus had become so strained that it was, no doubt, advisable for Piso to retire from the province as he did. He did not return till after Germanicus's death (2. 75. 2). His return is presumptive evidence that he was not lawfully deposed by Germanicus, but still remained governor of Syria.

4. *propius*: from a nearer point. Cf. 6. 26. 3, *quanto propius*.

71. 1. *adloquitur*: the source of this speech is unknown. Fureux thinks it a mere rhetorical composition.

2. *fato*: probably ablative, though some editors take it as dative. — *concederem*: apparently for *concederem vita* (to die). Cf. 1. 3. 3, *Ut Agrippa vita concessit*; 4. 38. 3, *quandoque concessero*. — *parentibus*: i.e., his mother Antonia and his adoptive father Tiberius. Cf. 3. 12. 5, *nos parentes*.

3. *interceptus*: chiefly employed by post-Augustan writers in reference to those dying a violent or treacherous death. Cf. 1. 82. 3, *interceptos*; 3. 12. 7, *tamquam veneno interceptus esset*. — *fratri*: his adoptive brother Drusus (see 3. 5. 5). Claudius is overlooked, as not recognized in the existing government (see 3. 18. 4).

4. *spes meae*: his prospects as heir apparent. — *propinquus sanguis*: is not used of near relations. Cf. 3. 12. 9; 4. 75. 2. — *bellorum superstitem*: cf. Germ. 6. 6, *superstites bellorum*. — *muliebri fraude*: refers to Plancina especially. Cf. 11. 3. 2, *fraude muliebri*.

6. *ignoti*: here used in an active sense, *strangers, those unacquainted with him*. Cf. 3. 1. 2, *multique etiam ignoti*, etc. — *sex liberos*: Nero Caesar, Drusus Caesar, Gaius Caesar (Caligula), Agrippina, Drusilla and Julia (Livilla).

7. *cum accusantibus*: on the side of those making the charges. — *ingentibus scelestam mandata*: i.e., in the event the impetuous Piso and his wife Plancina should undertake to justify their course (see chapter 43. 5).

8. *amissuros*: would give up; note the omission of *se* (see *Introductio* § 5). Tacitus frequently omits pronouns of the third person.

72. 1. *ferociam*: Agrippina had a hot temper and a vaulting ambition (see 1. 33. 6; 4. 12. 2; etc.). See *Introductio*, art. Germanicus. — *regressa in urbem*: it was perfectly right and proper for Agrippina to return to Rome, but she was not to avail herself of any means to further her ambitious designs, after her arrival.

2. *extinguitur*: the day of Germanicus's death is believed to have been 10 October. — *ingenti luctu*: Suetonius (*Cal.* 5) says, *Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti, partus coniugum expositi*.

3. *Indolere*: Suetonius (cited above) also adds, *regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rasisse, ad indicium maximi luctus: regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitiae instar est*. — *mansuetudo*: refers to his leniency in the treatment of captives (see 1. 58. 8 and 71. 2), hardly to his conduct of war (see 1. 51. 2, for an instance of cruelty). — *visuque et auditu*, etc.: worthy of respect alike whether seen or heard; *venerabilis* in agreement with the subject of *effugerat* indicates a change in construction. — *invidiam . . . effugerat*: he was entirely free from envy and haughtiness. This estimate of his character is confirmed by Suetonius (*Cal.* 3) and Dio, who may have followed the same eulogistic source as Tacitus.

73. 1. *sine imaginibus et pompa*: without the procession of the family images, — *hendiadys*. The family images, or waxen busts of his ancestors, being of course kept in the *atrium* of his house at Rome, had to be omitted. — *celebre*: honored.

2. *ob propinquitatem*: Antioch and Babylon are obviously by no means near together, but they may have seemed so to the Romans, since both places were in the remote East. — *magni Alexandri*: Alexander the Great was thirty-three years old when he died at Babylon; Germanicus about a year older (*Suet.*, *Cal.* 1) when he died at Antioch. In the case of each one there was some suspicion of poison. Tradition relates that Aristotle mixed the poison for

Alexander and sent it by Antipater, whose son administered it. — **adaequarent**: *compared*; a rare meaning of the verb. Cf. Cic., Verr. 2. 1. 8. 21.

3. **genere insigni**: Nipperdey takes these words to be a marginal note interpolated by some scribe who overlooked the preceding words, *genus mortis*. — **sed hunc mitem**, etc.: Alexander is reputed to have been fierce and intemperate, — quite the opposite of Germanicus. — **modicum**: here followed by the genitive (see Introd. § 21 (d)). Cf. 3. 72. 3, *pecuniae modicus*; 4. 52. 2, *modicus dignitationis*. — **certis**: *legitimate*. — **proeliatorem**: rare and post-Augustan. Cf. Dial. 37, *bonos proeliatores*; Val. Max. 3. 2. 24, *ad proeliorum excellentem fortitudinem*. — **praepeditus sit**: *prevented* (lit., *fettered or tethered as a horse*); here followed by the infinitive after analogy of *prohibere* (see Introd. § 32). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 146. Cf. 3. 3. 2, *valetudine praepediebatur*; 4. 25. 2. — **Germanias**: plural, as in 1. 57. 2.

4. **tanto . . . quantum**: note the variation in case. Cf. Hist. 2. 99. 2, *quantumque . . . tanto ad discordias promptior*. — **adsecuturum**: sc. *fuisse*.

5. **sepulturae**: *obsequies*; the body was cremated and the ashes taken to Rome for burial. — **veneficii signa**: Suetonius says that the body had bluish spots upon it and foam at the mouth, and that the heart would not burn, — which indicated death by poison, — *nam praeter livores qui toto corpore erant et spumas quae per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorruptum repertum est; cuius ea natura existimatur ut tinctum veneno, igne confici nequeat* (Cal. 1).

74. 1. **Consultatum**, etc.: the province being left without a ruler in consequence of the death of Germanicus and the departure of Piso, the senators who were present undertook to establish a provisional government. Of course, such senators could not represent the emperor, but they might act for the senate by appointing a *legatus ad interim*. So Sentius was put in command of the province, though it is questionable whether his appointment was constitutional. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 550 foll. — **quique alii senatorum**: all the *legati*, even those of the legions, were of senatorial rank on the ground of having previously held the office of quaestor. It is not impossible that there were some other senators on Germanicus's staff, as Furneaux suggests. — **Vibium Marsum**:

C. Vibius Marsus, a man of letters, was consul *suffectus* A.D. 17; pro-consul of Africa three years, A.D. 27-29; and later *legatus* of Syria. Cf. 2. 79. 1; 4. 56. 3; 6. 47. 2-3. — Cn. Sentium: consul *suffectus*, A.D. 4. Cf. 2. 79. 4; 2. 80-81; 3. 7. 2.

2. **Martinam**: the death of this infamous poisoner is elsewhere noted (3. 7. 2). — **Vitellio ac Veranio**: on these two stanch friends of Germanicus, see 1. 70. 1 and 2. 56. 4. — **crimina et accusationem**: *accusations and a bill of indictment*. — **receptos**: the praetor was technically said *recipere nomen* when an accuser made a formal charge for action. It is here indicated that Germanicus's friends acted with undue haste in collecting evidence before the indictment was filed with the praetor.

75. 1. matrimonio: ablative of quality with brachylogy (Introd. § 27), though Nipperdey takes it as a causal ablative. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 61. — **gratantisque**: *grator* is poetical for *gratulor* and came into prose with Livy (7. 13. 10; 9. 43. 17). Cf. 6. 21. 5; 12. 7. 3. — **incerta ultionis**: note the genitives after *incerta* and *anxia* (Introd. § 21 (d)). Cf. 6. 46. 5, *Mox incertus animi*; 4. 12. 6, *potentiae anxiam*. — **infelici fecunditate**, etc.: *by reason of her unfortunate fruitfulness exposed so often to the attacks of fortune*; she had given so many hostages to fortune in her large family of children. Cf. 3. 58. 4, *odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium*.

2. **Coum**: Cos is an island north of Rhodes in the Aegean, noted as the birthplace of the celebrated Greek painter Apelles.

3. **luctum**: *weeds of mourning*. Cf. Cic., Sest. 14. 32, *erat in luctu senatus, squalibat civitas, publico consilio, mutatu vesta*. — **laeto cultu**: ablative of price after *mutavit*. She put aside her mourning for gay colors and jewels.

76. 1. centuriones: i.e., those of his own appointment in Syria (chapter 55. 4). — **prompta illi**: *inclined to him*, to further his interests. Cf. 2. 78. 1, *promptus ferocibus*.

2. **consultanti**: dative of personal interest after *censebat*, which here has the force of *suadebat*. Cf. 11. 3. 1; Cic., Ad Fam. 9. 2. 4, *tibi igitur hoc censeo*. — **nihil adhuc**, etc.: *that nothing which could not be atoned for had yet been committed*. It appears that Piso's son considered his father guiltless of any wrong conduct.

4. **in partibus**: *on his side*, in contrast with *imperatoris* (Germanicus).

77. 1. **Domitius Celer**: on his mission to Syria, see chapters 78 and 79. — **utendum eventum**: *he ought to take advantage of the good fortune*, which left him the rightful governor of Syria on the death of Germanicus. — **huic**: i.e., Piso, as being nearest the speaker.

2. **propria**: *personal*; in reference to the fact that he received his command from Tiberius himself, whereas Sentius's commission was second-hand.

3. **rumoribus**: i.e., from the point of view of the speaker. Nipperdey thinks that this term is to be taken as an expression of disbelief on the speaker's part and not as indicating Tacitus's opinion of the charge of poisoning, which seems to have been like a Scotch verdict, — "not proven."

4. **multa, quae . . . caesura**: *many things which could not be foreseen would happen to his advantage*; if he did not recede from his present course.

5. **An festinamus**: *What? shall we hurry*, etc.; the present in anticipation of the future, — a construction quite common in the comic poets and in post-Augustan writers, but rare in Cicero and Caesar (Introd. § 41. (f) 4). Cf. Cic., *De Senec.* 7, *quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse*. See Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* § 228, note 1; Madvig, § 339. Obs. 2; Allen and Greenough, § 468. — **inauditum et indefensum**: Cf. *Dial.* 16. 3, *inauditum et indefensum*; *Hist.* 1. 6. 2, *inauditi atque indefensi*. — **vulgus**: on the hostile attitude of the populace toward Piso during the trial, see 3. 14. 5.

6. **conscientia**: the consciousness that her orders were carried out (see 2. 43. 5). — **nulli** = *nemo*; a rare example of the substantive use of the plural. For other instances see *Hist.* 2. 20. 2; Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 39. 93. — **iactantius**: *with greater demonstration*. Cf. *Hist.* 3. 53. 1, *litteras ad Vespasianum composuit iactantius quam ad principem*, etc.

78. 1. **epistulis**: plural used for singular, perhaps after analogy of *litterae*, which is frequently so employed in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 30. 4; 1. 36. 4; 2. 70. 3; etc. — **luxus et superbiae**: for the ground of the former charge, see chapter 57. 5. The basis of the charge of arrogance is found in his alleged insolent treatment of Piso himself. — **pulsum**: sc. *dicit* from *incusat*. Piso, it appears, would make the impression of disloyalty on the part of Germanicus, who had driven him from his rightful province, — a shrewd device designed to con-

firm Tiberius's prejudice against Germanicus and to allay suspicion against himself (see 3. 13. 3; 2. 55. 1).

2. *litorum oram*: cf. Livy 7. 25. 4, *oraeque litoris*; Verg., Georg. 2. 44, *litoris oram*.

3. *desertores*: from the legions in Syria who were flocking to him from all quarters. These deserters he formed into companies, arming even the sutlers (*lixas*), to swell his numbers. — *traiectis . . . navibus*: they crossed over from the island of Cos to the mainland, intercepting a detachment (*vexillum*) of recruits who were to be drafted into the Syrian legions. On *vexillum*, see 1. 38. 1, note. — *Cilicum*: the Cilicians had been notorious for their practice of piracy. But their country now, as indicated by this passage and chapter 80, must have been recognized as a part of Syria. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, 387; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* I, 350, 362.

79. 1. *Lyciae ac Pamphyliae*: Lycia still remained an independent allied republic, which was later (A.D. 43) annexed to Pamphylia. Pamphylia had been formed into a Roman province since B.C. 25. — *praelegentes*: while they coasted along; in reference to Piso and his company, who held their course between the island of Rhodes and the mainland, — the usual course. Domitius, on the other hand, had taken a more direct course over the open sea (*lato mari*) to Syria, partly to facilitate matters and partly to avoid the chance of meeting Agrippina's convoy of ships. — *utrimque infensi*: Piso's and Agrippina's company were each hostile to the other. — *nuntiavit* = *denuntiavit*. Cf. 2. 65. 1; 11. 37. 2.

2. *eludens*: in mockery, making sport of the command. Cf. 5. 5. 1, *maiestas elusa publice foret*; 6. 46. 9, *solicitusque eludere medicorum artes*. — *praetor . . . quaereret*: among the permanent boards established by Sulla was a *quaestio de veneficiis*. Piso filed his request for his case to be tried by this tribunal, which was the regular course. But his request was refused, and the case consequently referred to the senate for adjudication. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 119 foll. — *prodixisset*: a technical term. After the formal charge had been preferred before the praetor, he appointed (*prodicere*) a day on which both the accuser and the accused should appear before the tribunal.

3. *Laodiciam*: of the two Syrian cities of this name, Laodicea on

the seacoast, south of Antioch, is doubtless meant. — *sextae legionis*: called "*Ferrata*." — *Pacuvio legato*: sc. *legionis*. This legate Pacuvius is mentioned by Seneca (Ep. 12. 8) as having practically appropriated Syria to his own use, — *Pacuvius qui Syriam usu suam fecit*, etc.

4. *corruptoribus*: an instrumental ablative rarely used for *per* with the accusative.

5. *magnitudinem imperatoris*: *the majesty of the prince*; referring to Tiberius, not to Germanicus, as some editors take it. — *ingerens*: *saying repeatedly*. Cf. Hist. 4. 78. 1, *a tribunis eadem ingerebantur*.

80. 1. *secus*: *badly, ill*. Cf. 2. 50. 3; 6. 22. 5; Cic., Ad Att. 1. 19. 11, *Quintus frater purgat se multum per litteras et affirmat nihil a se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum*. — *e praesentibus*: *according to existing circumstances*. Cf. 1. 30. 5, *quia praesentia satis considerant*. *Celenderis*: a town of Cilicia Trachea, now Kilindri, the Turkish Gibraltar. In accordance with Tacitus's practice of using the nominative case with *nomen est*, *Celenderis* must be nominative.

2. *tirone*: singular for plural, as often in the case of *miles* and *eques*. — *in numerum legionis*: *up to the number of a legion*; which was normally 6,000 men. Tacitus is very fond of using *in* with the accusative to express result (Introd. § 36 (c)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 80 (b).

3. *earum . . . accitu*: *at the summons of these* (legions); *accitus* is very rare, occurring only in the ablative singular, as here. Cf. Cic., Verr. 2. 3. 28. 68, *magistratus accitu istius evocantur*; Verg., Aen. 1. 677, *accitu cari genitoris*.

4. *pugnaturis*: ablative absolute, forming the apodosis of the condition implied in *ubi . . . vidissent*. Tacitus frequently uses the future participle in the dative or ablative case with the force of a condensed clause as here, — a construction found also in Livy and Pliny the younger (see Introd. § 35 (c)). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 208. Cf. 1. 31. 1, *tracturis*; 1. 46. 3, *cessuris*. — *si iure ageretur*: *if it were a question of right*; note the resemblance to Livy 3. 49. 3, *si iure ageret*.

5. *pro munimentis*: *in front of the fortifications*. Cf. 3. 20. 2, *aciem pro castris instruit*. — *derupto*: *steep, precipitous*. Cf. 4. 45. 1; Livy 21. 33. 7, *cum praecipites deruptaeque*, etc.

6. **ordinibus ac subsidiis**: *in battle array and with reserves*; in contrast with the raw recruits of Piso, who were drawn up in close order in maniples. — **inde**: refers to Piso's raw army in contrast with *hinc* (the seasoned veterans). — **agrestia**: *rustic weapons*, perhaps only farm implements such as pruning hooks, mattocks, etc. Cf. Livy 9. 36. 6, *agrestibus telis*, etc.

7. **in manus**: *hand to hand, at close range*. Cf. Hist. 4. 71. 6, *ut ventum in manus*; Cic., Verr. 2. 5. 11. 28, *ad pugnam atque ad manus*. — **in aequum**: *to the level ground*; the top of the hill where the citadel stood.

81. 1. **adpugnare**: a rare Tacitean coinage, found in two other passages (4. 48. 4; 15. 13. 1). See Introd. § 38 (b). — **pro muris**: *on the walls*; see 2. 13. 4, *pro munimentis*, which is unlike *pro munimentis* above (2. 80. 5). — **semet adflitando**: *agonizing in his distress*; lit., *beating himself*, in order to awaken sympathy. Cf. 6. 35. 3, *quos super eques . . . adflitabant*. — **seditionem**: he endeavored to excite a mutiny among Sentius's soldiers. Cf. 1. 38. 1, *coeptare seditionem*, etc. — **signifer**: not the standard-bearer of the legion (called *aquilifer*), but that of a manipule. Each manipule had a standard-bearer, and one of these belonging to the sixth legion deserted to Piso, that legion being especially favorable to him (see chapter 79. 3). See note on *aquiliferis* (1. 48. 2).

2. **occanere**: *to sound*; very rare, not found in Cicero or Caesar, but in Sallust (Fragm. Hist. 1. 71, *cornicines occanuere*). — **aggerem**: materials for a mound for scaling the walls in the assault. Cf. 1. 65. 10, *petendus agger*. — **et faces**: note the use of the conjunction after asyndeta (Introd. § 37). Nipperdey thinks that the conjunction here indicates a different degree of connection. See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* §§ 106 and 140. Cf. 1. 11. 6, *quot classes, regna provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones*.

82. 1. **At Romae**: a transitional expression of frequent occurrence in Tacitus. Cf. 1. 7. 1; 1. 46. 1; 3. 22. 1; 6. 29. 1; etc. — **valetudo**: *ill health*; as the context indicates. The term is sometimes used in the present sense with an accompanying adjective to show the character of health. Without an adjective, the term usually signifies good health. — **percrebuit**: *was spread abroad*; a variant perfect is *percrebuit* (*percrebescere*). Cf. 6. 20. 2; 12. 6. 5; 15. 19. 1; Hist. 2. 26. 3. — **ut**: *as is usually the case*. Cf. 1. 65. 4. —

aucta in deterius: *circumstances exaggerated to make them worse; a characteristic use of the accusative of result (Intro. § 36 (c)).*

2. **hoc egisse:** *this was the end accomplished.* On the conferences with Plancina, see chapter 43. 5.

3. **de Druso:** see 1. 33. 4; 2. 41. 5. — **filiorum:** not quite accurate. Drusus was a stepson of Augustus, and Germanicus, an adopted son of Tiberius. — **aequo iure complecti,** etc.: *to include the people on a basis of equality when liberty was restored.*

4. **sumpto iustitio:** such a suspension of public business was taken only in great crises, such as after the Caudine defeat (Liv. 9. 7. 8). See 1. 16. 2, note.

5. **insignibus:** signs of mourning, such as change of dress.

7. **ut quisque,** etc.: as each one is met by the merchants, the ill-authenticated news of Germanicus's improved condition is spread with joy. Supply in thought *transfert* from *transferunt*. — **cumulata:** the news grows as it spreads, each one perhaps adding a favorable touch.

8. **moliuntur . . . fores:** the temple doors had presumably been closed for the night. Suetonius (Cal. 6) gives a graphic description of the scene, adding that even Tiberius was awakened from his sleep by the cries of those yelling everywhere, *Salvus est Germanicus!* "All is well with Germanicus!" as they rushed toward the temple on the Capitoline to offer sacrifices on his behalf. — **tempore ac spatio:** *with the flight of time;* hendiadys. — **acrius doluit:** Suetonius (Cal. 6) says that the populace in the demonstration of their grief knew no bounds and that the mourning lasted even through the Saturnalia in December (*duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies*). This would indicate the period of mourning lasted over two months after Germanicus's death (10 October).

83. 1. Honores . . . decreti: fragments of these decrees may be seen recorded in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI. 1. 911.

2. **Saliari carmine:** the *Salii* whose hymn is here referred to were a college of priests at Rome, dedicated to the service of Mars. Every year in the first half of March they made a solemn procession about the city, with songs and dances. Their songs were of a hoary antiquity and very difficult to understand. Germanicus, like Augustus (Mon. Anc. 2. 21), had the honor of having his name mentioned in the Salian hymn. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsver-*

waltung III, 437; Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, p. 564 foll. — **sedes curules**: the curule chair decorated with a chaplet was placed in the theater as a special honor. Such distinction was shown Julius Caesar in his lifetime (Dio 44. 6. 3) and was accorded the *Augustales* because Germanicus had been a member of this order (1. 54. 2). The chaplet was of the form of a civic crown, but was made of precious material (Dio 44. 6. 3, *διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον*). — **effigies**: i.e., of Germanicus. This was a rare honor and one which Julius Caesar also enjoyed in his lifetime (Suet., *Iul.* 76). This ivory statue together with the images of the gods was borne in the sacred chariot (*tensa*). — **flamen**: sc. *Augustalis*. — **Arcus**: these memorial arches have of course perished.

3. **Amano**: a range of mountains running northeast and southwest between Syria and Cilicia, now called Jawur Dagħ. — **mortem . . . obisse**: depends on *inscriptione* and coördinate with *rerum gestarum*. See *Introd.* § 41 (e). — **Sepulchrum**: a cenotaph. — **tribunal**: a bier-shaped structure designed apparently for the corpse to repose upon. Such a structure was sometimes set up as a monument. — **Epidaphnae**: a place about five miles from Antioch, noted for its beautiful grove and temple of Apollo, from which it took its name.

4. **censeretur clipeus**: a medallion bust was proposed. Such a bust had been set up at Rome to distinguished men, according to Pliny (*N. H.* 35. 3. 3. 12), ever since the time of the consulship of Appius Claudius, B.C. 495. — **inter auctores eloquentiae**: i.e., among the medallions of authors adorning the walls of the Palatine library (see chapter 37). Suetonius (*Cal.* 13), in speaking of Germanicus, names among his qualities his *ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praececellens*. — **solitum paremque**: of the traditional kind and size; i.e., of bronze rather than the gold medallion of extraordinary size (*auro et magnitudine insignis*) which was proposed.

5. **Equester ordo**: under the empire this order was composed solely of knights furnished with a horse by the government. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 525 foll. — **cuneum**: this must be intended to signify the wedge-shaped tiers of seats in the theater, where the first fourteen rows were reserved for the knights, the rows being divided by aisles into sections or tiers called *cunei*. Some of the *cunei* of the knights were for the *iuniores* and some for the

seniores (Suet., Dom. 4). This honor was accorded Germanicus as *princeps iuventutis*. Cf. 1. 3. 2, note; Ovid, Ex Pont. 2. 5. 41, *Te iuvenum princeps cui dat Germania nomen*. — *turmae*: the eighteen centuries of Roman knights were divided into squadrons (*turmae*) of thirty men each, commanded by a *sevir*, for parade occasions. The annual procession of the knights, which occurred on the 15th July, was called *transvectio equitum* (*the review of the knights*), and was made an occasion of splendid display. It was decreed that the image of Germanicus should be adopted as the official banner in this annual procession of the knights. This annual review is mentioned by Livy (9. 46. 15) as dating from B.C. 304. It was believed to commemorate the appearance of the Dioscuri at the battle of Lake Regillus. At some unknown time the institution fell into disuse, but was revived by Augustus (Suet., Aug. 38). See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, 493.

84. 1. *Livia*: more commonly called Livilla, to avoid confusion with the elder Livia. Livilla was seduced by Sejanus and, thus disgraced, was induced by him to poison her husband, the younger Drusus, A.D. 23 (see 4. 3 and 6. 2). — *duos virilis sexus*: of these twins, one was Germanicus who died in childhood (4. 15. 1) and the other, Tiberius whom Caligula had murdered (6. 46. 8). Cf. Suet., Cal. 23, *Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem repente immisso tribuno militum interemit*.

2. *modicis penatibus*: in a household of ordinary rank. Cf. 13. 4. 2, *nihil in penatibus suis venale*, etc.

3. *auctum liberis*: Drusus already had a daughter (3. 29. 4). Nipperdey notes that in the families of high rank in those times three children were exceptional. — *tamquam . . . urgeret*: as if the family of Drusus, thus increased as it was, would humiliate the more the house of Germanicus. The house of Germanicus, however, really numbered more children, but was without a head, a circumstance which the people feared would tend to put it at a disadvantage.

85. 1. *cautumque, ne*, etc.: the prohibition was that no woman should become a prostitute who could boast a father, grandfather, or husband of equestrian rank. This prohibition of course applied also to senatorial families.

2. *Vistilia*: probably the daughter of Sextus Vistilius, of praetorian rank, mentioned in 6. 9. 2. — *licentiam . . . vulgaverat*:

had declared herself a prostitute before the aediles; in order to claim exemption from the penalty for adultery, the public profession of infamy being deemed of itself sufficient punishment. As magistrates the aediles had charge of all public places in the city as part of their *cura urbis*. See Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions* § 233.

3. **Exactum**: *sc. est, it was demanded*. — **Titidio Labeone**: Pliny (N. H. 35. 4. 7. 20) mentions him as a man of praetorian rank and proconsul of Narbonese Gaul. — **delicti manifesta**: *evidently guilty of crime*. Tacitus uses the genitive after *manifesta* in 4. 53. 2; 12. 51. 5; 14. 29. 1, *ambitionis manifestus*, etc. See *Introd.* § 21 (d); Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 71. — **ultionem legis**: *the penalty prescribed by law*. The *lex Iulia* (2. 50. 2) prescribed in case of adultery that the husband separate from his wife at once and proceed against her within sixty days, under penalty of being charged with connivance. Titidius was guilty of no neglect as the time limit had not expired.

4. **necdum** = *nondum*, as frequently in post-Augustan writers. Cf. *Hist.* 1. 31. 5, *necdum adulta seditio*, etc. — **de Vistilia statuere**: *to take action in the case of Vestilia*. Cf. 6. 29. 2, *qui de se statuebant*. — **Seriphon**: Serpho, an island of the Cyclades group, in the Aegean Sea, off the coast of the Peloponnesus, which, like Gyarus (*Juv.* 1. 73), was used as a place of exile for criminals.

5. **sacris Aegyptiis**: the allusion is to the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose rites were attended with many immoral practices. This cult was very popular among the fashionable Roman women. It was a scandalous outrage committed by a certain knight, Decius Mandus, through the connivance of the priests, upon a noble Roman matron, Paulina by name, in the temple of Isis, that induced Tiberius to crucify the priests and to demolish the temple, casting the statue of the goddess into the Tiber. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XVIII, 3, 4, 5. — **Iudaicisque**: the author seems here to confound the Egyptian religion with that of the Jews, with whose history he was not familiar. The Jews found their way to Rome probably very early, for an order of banishment was promulgated by the praetor against them so early as B.C. 139 (see Mommsen, *History of Rome* III, 524). Many were brought to Rome as slaves in B.C. 63 (Pompey's conquest). For an account of the present banishment, see Josephus (cited above), also Suetonius (*Tib.* 36). — **ea superstitione**: Josephus and Suetonius represent this expulsion as relat-

ing to the Jews only. Suetonius (Tib. 36) says, *Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit*. — **quis**: archaic for *quibus*. — **Sardiniam**: the banditti then, as in modern times, had so infested Sardinia and Corsica that, though a senatorial province, they had to be turned over to a procurator with a military force from A.D. 6 down to Nero's time (Dio 55. 28. 1). — **ob gravitatem caeli**: *through the unhealthfulness of the climate*. The climate of Sardinia is still reputed unhealthful.

86. 1. capiendam: according to Aulus Gellius (1. 12. 13), *capere* is technically used of the selection of a vestal virgin, the pontifex maximus taking her by the hand from her father, with the formula, *Te, Amata, capio*. The vestal virgins were chosen between the ages of six and ten and were pledged to the service for thirty years, after which period they were at liberty to retire from the office and marry. It was customary, however, for them to continue in office for life. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III, 337. — **Vestalibus sacris praesederat**: a technical expression, meaning to be in charge of the sacred rites simply, which was the privilege of every vestal; it does not mean to preside over the college, — an honor reserved exclusively for the eldest vestal. — **Fonteio Agrippae**: see 2. 30. 1. Domitius Pollio is unknown.

2. **discidio**: *by divorce*; frequently used in this sense. Cf. 14. 60. 3, *movetur tamen primo civilis discidii specie*. — **domum imminuerat**: *had impaired the dignity of his family*. Cf. 2. 34. 4, *imminui quaeretur*. — **decies sestertii**: a kind of consolation prize. This was not regarded an exceptional dowry (about \$50,000) for a noble lady. This was the sum fixed by Augustus as the senatorial census (1. 75. 5).

87. 1. Saevitiam annonae: Draeger calls this a new metaphor, like *saevitia maris, hiemis, caeli*, in silver Latin. Cf. 6. 13. 1, *gravitas annonae*. — **incusante plebe**: as Furneaux suggests, these complaints found expression probably at the theaters and similar public gatherings. — **binosque nummos**: equivalent to nine or ten cents, — which was the difference between the current market price and that established by statute. This difference the emperor made up to the dealers (*negotiatoribus*). On the government regulation of the price of grain at Rome, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II, 123 foll.

2. *delatum . . . vocabulum*: a title offered him even before (1. 72. 2). — *increpuit*, etc.: Suetonius (Tib. 27) records that when some one referred to his occupations as *sacras*, Tiberius directed him to say *laboriosas*, and that when he was addressed as *dominus*, he became offended. The emperor used to say that he was *imperator* to his soldiers, *dominus* to his slaves and *princeps* to all others (Dio 57. 8. 2). The title of *dominus* did not become the accepted form of address for the *princeps* till the time of Diocletian's reign. See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 760. — *angusta et lubrica*: difficult and hazardous. Cf. Hist. 3. 82. 4, *per angusta et lubrica viarum*.

88. 1. *scriptores senatoresque*: i.e., senators who were writers. The words *eorundem temporum* appear superfluous. — *Adgandestrii principis*: the name of this prince (Adgandestrius) does not appear to be German, and for this reason some editors have deemed it a corruption. — *fraude neque occultis*, etc.: note the chiasmus, *fraude* contrasted with *armatum* and *occultis* with *palam* (Intro. § 39. 3). See Draeger, *Syntax und Stil* § 235. On the sentiment, see the contrast in Livy 1. 53. 5, *minime arte Romana, fraude et dolo*.

2. *priscis imperatoribus*: Gaius Fabricius Luscinus and Quintus Aemilius Papus, consuls B.C. 278. The allusion is to the story that when Fabricius as consul was sent against Pyrrhus near Tarentum, the physician of Pyrrhus is reputed to have approached the Roman consul, promising the death of his master by poison for a bribe, whereupon Fabricius, to show his indignation at such treachery, had the physician put in fetters and sent back to Pyrrhus. — *venenum in Pyrrum*: brachylogy. Nipperdey calls this a novel and pregnant construction. In his striving for brevity Tacitus frequently resorts to such constructions (Intro. § 40. 5).

3. *pulso Maroboduo*: see 2. 44. 3; 2. 63. 1. — *regnum adfectans*: aspiring to royalty; he was of the royal race (see 11. 16. 1). — *alii reges ducesque*: Pyrrhus and Hannibal, for example. — *proeliis ambiguus*, etc.: though the German leader fought several unsuccessful battles, Tacitus here admits that he was never conquered. Note the contrast between *proeliis* and *bello*. Cf. 12. 39. 5; Germ. 30. 3, *Alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum*.

4. *duodecim*: i.e., from the defeat of Varus, A.D. 9. This computation would put the death of Arminius about A.D. 21. — *caniturque*:

it may be, as Grimm suggests (Teutonic Mythology, p. 362), that Tacitus here confounds Arminius with the German hero Irmin (*ib.*, p. 118). — **Graecorum**: the Greek historians who must have written about the events in which Arminius figured. Dio mentions Arminius only once (56. 19. 2). Furneaux queries in view of this fact whether the allusion is to Plutarch's lost biographies of Augustus and Tiberius which may have been known to Tacitus. — **perinde**: *not so much as one would expect*. Cf. Germ. 5. 3, *aurum et argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales adpetunt*; Hist. 2. 84. 2; 4. 62. 4. — **celebris**: Tacitus seems to prefer this masculine nominative to the more common *celeber*. Cf. 13. 47. 2; 14. 19. — **vetera extollimus**: for a similar sentiment, see 3. 55. 6, *nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit*. — **recentium incuriosi**: *indifferent to modern achievements*. Cf. 4. 32. 4, *princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus erat*; Hist. 1. 49. 4, *Famae nec incursiosus nec venditator*.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

4. 4. *aliquid*: the reading of the manuscript, which is adopted by some editors including Allen and Pfitzner. Most editors, including Furneaux, Nipperdey and Müller, emend to *aliud*. Draeger reads *aliud quid*. *Quidquam* would suit here better than *aliquid*, but these words were occasionally used interchangeably in late Latin. Hence it is quite possible that Tacitus may have written here *aliquid* originally.

8. 1. *est*: omitted in the manuscript, but supplied by Nipperdey as necessary inasmuch as the verb *esse* in Tacitus's usage may be omitted with deponents only when they are intransitive. Nipperdey's reading has been generally adopted by editors from Halm on. Draeger follows the manuscript, indicating the lacuna.

3. *urbanis quingenos*: omitted in the manuscript perhaps by a scribal error, but supplied by editors from Suetonius, Aug. 101 and Dio 56. 32.

4. *ex quis maxime insignes visi*: this is the manuscript reading which is followed by some editors, including Pfitzner. Nipperdey changes *visi* to *visu*. Most modern editors follow Halm in inserting *qui* after *quis*, which is thought to have dropped out. There is some confusion of construction here resulting from Tacitus's effort to combine in the same sentence the names of the proposers together with the proposals, as in 2. 64. 4 (*ipsorumque regum ingenia*, etc.) and 11. 29. 2 (*dein metu*, etc.). Yet the manuscript text makes sense, despite the characteristic Tacitean condensation, and should therefore be retained.

10. 4. Q. *Pedii*: the conjecture of F. A. Wolf (supported by Suetonius, Iul. 83), adopted by Draeger, Pfitzner and Müller. The

manuscript reads *que tedii*, which Halm emends into *Q. Tedii*, an unknown name. Various conjectures have here been offered, as for example, *Q. Alledii* (by Roth, supported by Juvenal 5. 118), but none has won general acceptance. Editors vary much in the reading here. Furneaux follows Halm; Nipperdey retains the manuscript text; Allen adopts Mommsen's conjecture, reading *Vedii Pollionis* simply.

28. 2. *qua pergerent*: the reading generally adopted by editors for the manuscript text *quae pergerent*, which a few editors retain.

31. 1. *tracturis*: conjecture of Freinsheim, generally adopted for the manuscript reading *tracturus*, which, if retained, would require the preceding *sua* to refer to Germanicus's own force and not to that of the legions, which the sense demands.

32. 3. *sexagenis*: an emendation suggested by several scholars for the manuscript reading *sexageni*. Furneaux adopts this conjecture as better suited to the sense, inasmuch as the manuscript reading would require sixty to scourge at one time, a requirement which amounts to an impossibility. The final "s" of *sexagenis* may very readily have dropped out by haplography.

34. 1. *seque et proximos*: the manuscript has *seque proximos*, which Halm changes to *Sequanos proximos*. But this is unsatisfactory, for the Sequani were only a part of Belgic Gaul and Tacitus would hardly have singled out this specific tribe for special mention here. Draeger, Allen, Furneaux and Müller adopt *seque et proximos*. Nipperdey has the same reading except that he makes *seque* begin the sentence.

36. 3. *concedentur*: this is the manuscript reading and the present tense after a past can be justified on the score of dramatic description, or vividness. On this theory *est* must be supplied with *severitas* and the other nominatives. Nipperdey, Pfitzner and Allen defend the manuscript reading. Halm, Furneaux and Müller change to the past tense in keeping with what precedes, reading *concederentur* and understanding *erat* to be supplied with *severitas* and the other nominatives.

59. 6. *sacerdotium hominum*: the reading of Halm, adopted by Furneaux, Allen, Müller and others, for the manuscript text *sacerdotium*: *hominum* which is not satisfactory. Several conjectures have been made, such as Wolf's *Romanum*, Halm's *hostium*

(adopted by Nipperdey), etc. Editors vary considerably. The reading *sacerdotium hominum* is to be explained as a contemptuous expression by a German who recognized no such divinities as Augustus and Julius, who are here referred to as constituting the priesthood (see 1. 57. 2).

70. 7. Visurgin: this manuscript reading seems impossible and has proved a *cruz* to the editors. The name *Unsingin* has been suggested as a manufactured Latin name for the *Hunse* in Gröningen, which seems to be the river here meant.

77. 5. sectarentur: this is Wölfflin's conjecture, adopted by Halm for the manuscript reading *spectarentur*. *Spectarentur* may have found its way into the manuscript as the result of a scribal error due to the proximity of the following *spectantium*. Draeger, Furneaux and Pfitzner follow Halm, while Allen, Nipperdey and Müller adhere to the manuscript reading.

BOOK II.

8. 2. Amisiae: Halm, after Seyffert, adds here *ore* which seems unnecessary. Yet *ore* is inserted by several editors, including Draeger, Furneaux and Müller.

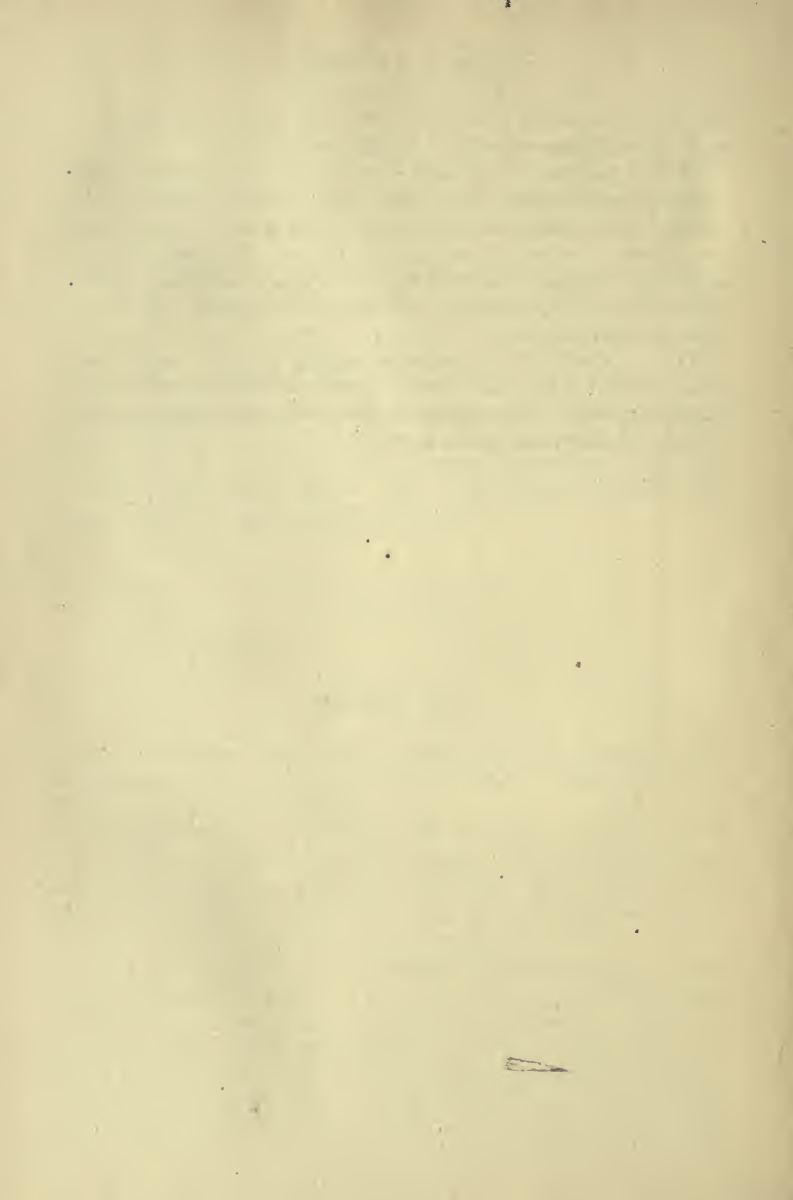
4. Angrivavorum: adopted by most editors for *angrivavorum* of the manuscript. Halm and others change to *Ampsivavorum*, which was the name of a tribe dwelling on the Ems. Halm, after Giefers, restores this name in chapters 22. 3 and 24. 5, where most editors have the same name as in the present passage.

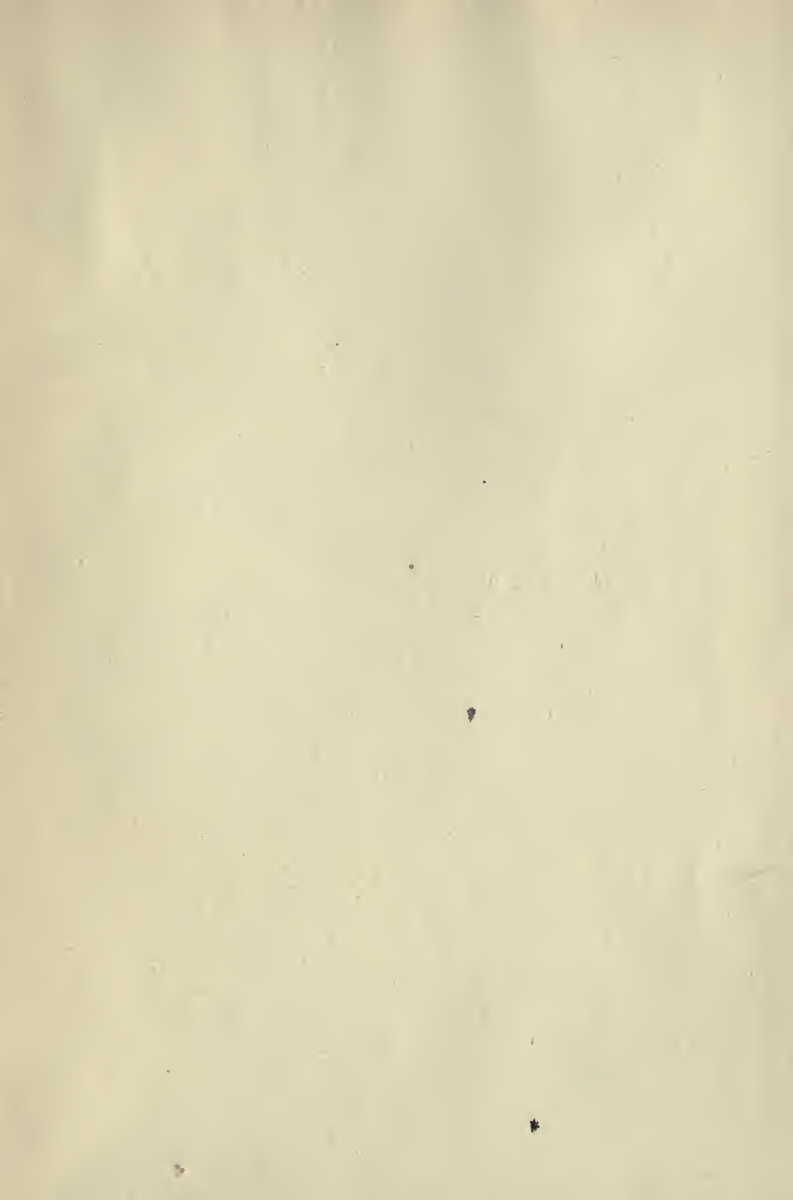
9. 3. Tum permissum: the manuscript reads here *tum permissu*, which Halm follows indicating a lacuna. But most editors change *permissu* to *permissum*, assuming the final "m" to have dropped out by a scribal error, which frequently occurs. Nipperdey, supplying certain words, would read *tum permissu imperatoris deducitur a Stertinio progressusque*, etc. Müller emends to *tum petenti praesidium equitum permissum*, etc., which he incorporates into his text.

The simplest reading is the best and lends itself most readily to explanation by the omission of a single letter.

23. 3. *tumidis*: Halm reads here *umidis*, adopted by Draeger, Furneaux and Müller. Orelli who reads *tumidis* explains it as referring to the mountainous character of the country which caused the storms, — surely a reasonable theory. Nipperdey retains *tumidis*, but explains it as referring to the great clouds arising from the moisture of the lowlands and rivers of Germany. Allen and Pfitzner adopt *tumidis*.

57. 4. *apertis*: the manuscript reading is *opertis* which some editors defend. But the context shows that Piso's hostility was manifest enough, not concealed. Therefore the reading *apertis*, adopted by Halm and others, is retained.





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